# ACCOUNT

OF

# DENMARK,

As it was in the YEAR 1692.

Pauci prudentiâ, honesta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt; plures aliorum eventis docentur. Tacit. lib. 4° Ann.

Vincit amor patriæ---Virg.

The Fourth Edition, carefully revised.

#### LONDON:

Printed for Tho. Longman, at the Ship in Pater-noster-row. 1738.



# An Account of DENMARK:

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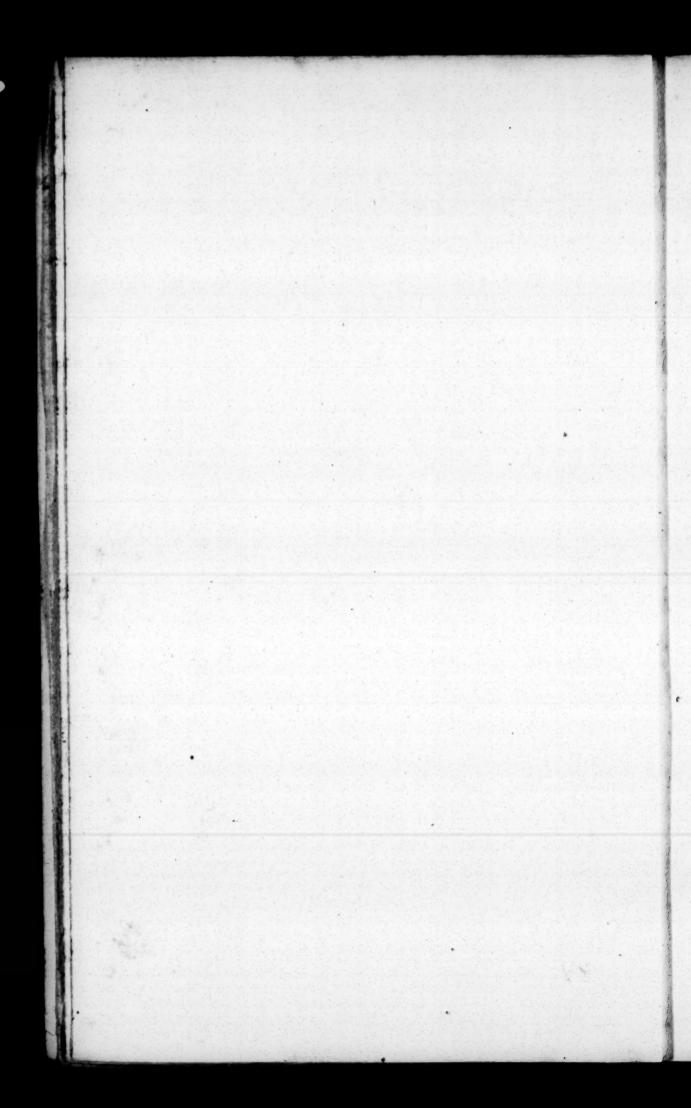
As it was in the Year 1692.

An ACCOUNT of

S U E D E N:

As it was in the Year 1688.

With several Pieces relating to those Accounts.



## THE

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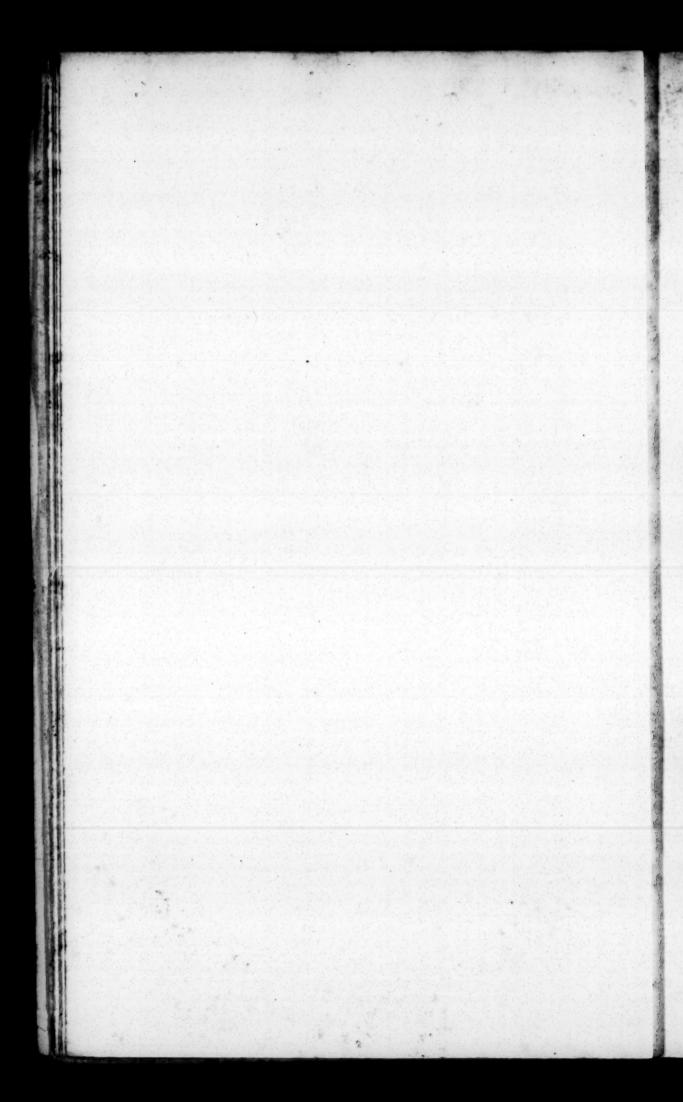
An Account of the Ancient Free State of France, and most other Parts of Europe, before the Loss of their Liberties. Written originally in Latin by the famous Civilian Francis Hotoman, in the Year 1574. and Translated into English by the Author of the Account of Denmark. The Second Edition, with Additions, and a new Preface by the Translator. Sold by T. Longman, in Pater-noster-row.

### ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE were Three Editions of this Account of Denmark in the Year 1694. The present Edition is from the Third of them, which is said in the Title to have been corrected.

The reputed Author of this Account went Envoy Extraordinary from King William III. to the Court of Denmark in 1689.







#### THE

# PREFACE.

EALTH and LIBERTY are, without dispute, the greatest natural Blessings Mankind is capable of enjoying; I say natural, because the contrary States are purely accidental, and arise from Nature debauched,

depraved, or enforced. Yet these Blessings are seldom sufficiently valued whilst enjoyed; like the daily Advantages of the Sun and Air, they seem scarce regarded, because so common, by those that are in possession of them.

But as an Italian that passes a Winter in Groenland, will soon be convinced, through his want of the kind Influences of that glorious Planet, how much Misery he endures in comparison of those who dwell in his native Country; so he that knows by Experience the Trouble of a languishing Sickness, or the Loss of his Liberty, will presently begin to have a right Esteem of that which formerly he scarce thought worth his notice.

This Experience is either what a Man learns by that which befalls himself, or by making Observations on the Condition of other People. The first is the common

common Guide to the Generality of Mankind, who are not apt to look beyond themselves; unless, with St. Thomas, they feel as well as fee, they will not believe. Thus in the Instance of bodily Health, we find those that have been always accustom'd to it bave scarce any Notion of the Misery of the contrary State, and therefore are careless in shunning those Excesses which might bring Diseases upon them; the sad Examples seen every Day of miserable sick Debauchees being not sufficient to deter others from Lewdness. But the second fort of Experience is the Instructress of wise Men: For the Prudent will not fail to benefit themselves by the Accidents that befall others, both in their Health and Liberty, by avoiding the Occasions of them: And this is one of the great Advantages of Society, that not only the Affiftance, but even the Misfortunes of others, may be of use to us.

Want of Liberty is a Disease in any Society or Body Politick, like want of Health in a particular Person; and as the best way to understand the Nature of any Distemper aright, is to consider it in several Patients, since the same Disease may proceed from different Causes, so the Disorders in Society are best perceived by observing the Nature and Effects of them in our several Neighbours: Wherefore Travel seems as necessary to one who desires to be useful to his Country, as practifing upon other Mens Distempers is to make an able Physician. For although a Man may see too frequently the Misery of such as are deprived of Health without quitting his own Country, yet (Thanks to Providence) he must go out of these Kingdoms who would know experimentally the want of Publick Liberty. He that travels into a Climate infected with this Disease (and he can find few that are not) does not only see, but in some measure feel the Grievances occasioned by it in the several Inconveniencies

veniencies of living, in some Proportion with the Natives; so as to relish better, upon his Return, (which we suppose depends upon his Choice) the Freedom and Ease of his own Home-Constitution, and may make good use of this Experience without having paid too dear for it. But a Man cannot transmigrate himself for a while into a distemper'd Body, as he may travel into an enslaved Country, with equal Facility of getting rid of each of them again.

Thus 'tis a great, yet rare Advantage to learn rightly how to prize Health without the Expence of being sick; but one may easily and cheaply grow sensible of the true Value of Liberty, by travelling into such Countries, for a Season, as do not enjoy it.

And this can be done by no Nation in the World so commodiously as the English: The Affluence of their Fortunes, and Easiness in their private Affairs, are evidently greater than those of other People of Europe; so that, generally speaking, none are in a Condition to spend more freely, or may propose to reap greater Benefit by Travel; and yet none have practised it less.

In other Countries some Princes and Men of the first Quality may have Purses strong enough to bear the Expence, but few of the middling Sort venture upon it; and those are commonly either Military Men, who have other Designs in view than the Knowledge of the World; or the Unfortunate, who chuse it as a Diversion or a Refuge, and who have their Heads too full of their own Miseries, to be at leisure to make their Observations on others. And besides, we often see the like arbitrary Practices at bome (they having been always train'd up in Servitude) do so far vitiate their Reason, as to put them out of a Capacity of judging aright; for 'tis not only possible, but very usual, that People may be so seafon'd to and barden'd in Slavery, as not only to bave lost the very Taste of Liberty, but even to love the contrary B 2

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contrary State; as Men over-run with the Spleen

take pleasure in their Distemper.

But in England there are very many Gentlemen whose Estates will afford them either to travel in Person, or to send abroad such of their Sons, for sour or sive Years, as have the most solid Judgments; in which time they may acquire such Manners, and make such Observations as shall render them useful to their Country, and thereby advance their private Fortunes more than what is saved by keeping them at home would amount to.

The Method which has been generally followed by us in sending young Gentlemen to travel can hardly answer any of these Ends; on the contrary it has bitherto been so mischievous, that'tis well Travelling has been so little in fashion. We send them abroad Children, and bring them home great Boys, and the Returns they make for the Expences laid out by their Parents are suitable to their Age. That of the Languages is the very best; but the most common is an affected Foppishness, or a filthy Disease, for which they sometimes exchange their Religion: Besides, the Pageantry, Luxury, and Licentiousness of the more arbitrary Courts have bribed them into an Opinion of that very Form of Government: Like Idiots, who part with their Bread for a glittering Piece of Tinsel, they prefer gilded Slavery to coarse domestick Liberty, and exclaim against their old-fashion'd Countrymen who will not reform their Constitution according to the new foreign Mode. But the Travelling recommended here is that of Men, who set out so well stock'd with the Knowledge of their own Country, as to be able to compare it with others; whereby they may both supply it where they find it wanting, and set a true Value on it where it excels. With this Help such Travellers could not fail of becoming serviceable to the Publick, in contributing daily towards the

the bettering of our Constitution, though, without doubt, it be already one of the best in the World.

For it were as fond to imagine we need not go abroad, and learn of others, because we have perhaps better Laws and Customs already than Foreigners, as it were not to trade abroad, because we dwell in one of the plentifullest Parts of the World. But as our Merchants bring every Day from barren Countries many useful Things, which our own good one does not produce, so if the same Care were taken to supply us with exact Accounts of the Constitutions, Manners, and Condition of other Nations, we might, without doubt, find out many Things for our Purpose, which now our mere Ignorance keeps us from being sensible that we want. The Athenians, Spartans, and Romans did not think themselves too wife to follow this Method; they were at great Expence to procure the Laws of other Nations, thereby to improve their own; and we know they throve by it, since few Governments are so ill constituted as not to have some good Customs. We find admirable Regulations in Denmark; and we read of others among the favage Americans fit to serve for Models to the most civilized Europeans.

But although the Constitution of our Government were too perfect already to receive any Improvement, yet the best Methods conducing to the peaceable Confervation of its present Form, are well worth every Englishman's Enquiry; neither are these so easily to be found in this Age, which were judged so difficult, (if not altogether impracticable) by the greatest of Politicians in his time.\* 'Tis true, the Wisdom of our Ancestors, or their good Fortune, has hitherto

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<sup>\*</sup> Cunctas Nationes & Urbes populus aut primores aut singuli regunt; delecta ex his, & conflituta Reipublicæ forma, laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit haud diuturna esse potest. Tacit. lib. 4. Annal.

made these our Kingdoms an Exception to his general Maxim; yet we all know bow many grievous Tempests (which as often threatned Shipwreck) this Vessel of our Commonwealth has undergone. The perpetual Contests between the Kings and the People (whilft those endeavour'd to acquire a greater Power than was legally due, and these to preserve or recover their just Liberties) have been the contending Billows that have kept it affoat; so that all we pretended to by the late Revolution (bought with so great Expence, yet not too dearly paid for) was to be as we were, and that every one should have his own again; the effecting of which may be called a piece of good Luck, and that's the best can be said of it. But must frequent Bloodlettings be indispensably necessary to preserve our Constitution? Is it not possible for us to render vain and untrue that Sarcasm of Foreigners, who object to us that our English Kings have either too little Power or too much, and that therefore we must expect no settled or lasting Peace? Shall we for ever retain the ill Character they give us of the most mutable and inconstant Nation of the World? Which however we do not deserve, no more than England does that of Regnum Diabolorum, so common in unconsidering Foreigners Mouths. Methinks a Method to preserve our Commonwealth in its legal State of Freedom, without the Necessity of a Civil War once or twice every Age, were a Benefit worth searching for, though we went to the farthest Corners of the World in quest of it.

Besides, the Knowledge of the present State of our Neighbour Nations (which is best acquired by Travel) is more incumbent on the Gentlemen of England than any others; since they make so considerable a part of our Government in Parliament, where so reign Business comes frequently under Considera-

tion, and at prefent more than ever.

'Tis none of the smallest Advantages which his Majesty has procured us by his Accession to the Crown, that we make a greater Figure in the World than formerly; we have more foreign Alliances, are become the Head of more than a Protestant League, and have a Right to intermeddle in the Affairs of Europe, beyond what we ever pretended to in any of the preceding Reigns: For 'tis a true, though but a melancholy Reflexion, that our late Kings half undid us, and breeding us up as narrow-spirited as they could, made us consider ourselves as proscribed from the World, in every Sense toto divisos orbe Britan-And indeed they had withdrawn us from the World fo long, till the World had almost overlooked us; we seldom were permitted to cast an Eye farther than France or Holland, and then too we were carefully watched: But at present Matters are otherwise; we have a Prince that has raised us to our natural Station, the Eyes of most part of the World are now upon us, and take their Measures from our Counsels: We find every Day Occasion to inform ourselves of the Strength and Interests of the several Princes of Europe: And perhaps one great Reason why we live up no better to the mighty Post we are advanced to, nor maintain our Character in it with greater Reputation, is because our Education has been below it, and we have been too much locked up at home, when we should have been acquainting ourselves with the Affairs of the World abroad.

We have lately bought the Experience of this Truth too dear, not to be now sensible of it. 'Tis not very long ago since nothing was more generally believed (even by Men of the best Sense) than that the Power of England was so unquestionably establish'd at Sea, that no Force could possibly shake it; that the English Valour and Manner of Fighting was so far beyond all others, that nothing was more desirable

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desirable than a French War. Should any one have been so regardless of his Reputation, as at that time to have represented the French an Over-match for the united Forces of England and Holland, or have said that we should live to see ourselves insulted on our own Coasts, and our Trade indanger'd by them, that we should be in Apprehensions every Year of an Invasion and a French Conquest; such a venturesome Man must have expected to have pass'd for a very Traveller, or at best for an ill-natur'd or unthinking Person, who little consider'd what the irresistible Force of an English Arm was: But our late Experience has reclaim'd us from these Mistakes; our Fathers and Grandfathers told us indeed these things when they were true, when our Yeomanry and Commonalty were every Day exercised in drawing the Long-bow and handling the Brown-bill, with other Weapons then in use, wherein we excell'd all the World; but we have liv'd upon the Credit of those Times too long, and superciliously neglected our formidable Neighbour and Enemy, whilft be was improving his Strength, and we thro' the Encouragement and by Design of our late Rulers were enervating our own.

The Ecclesiasticks of most Religions, who are allow'd to understand and prosecute their own Interests best of any People, the' they be generally Persons whose Function obliges them to a sedentary and studious Course of Life, have not omitted to draw such Advantages from Travel as conduce to their Honour and Prosit. These Men, whose conversing with Books makes them know more than others, have yet sound their Account in sending some of the most judicious of their Members and Fraternities to setch home Knowledge and Experience from the remotest Parts of the World. The College De propaganda side was establish'd under Pretence indeed of ser-

ving

ving Religion, but we know the Founders of it are no farther Slaves to Religion than 'twill be serviceable to them; neither was it so much thro' Zeal for Conversions, as to increase their Revenues, and learn foreign Politicks in Church and State Affairs. The Jefuits have brought several Maxims, as well as Sums, from as far off as China and Japan; thereby improving their Knowledge, so as to outwit their Friends at home; and by following their Example in this, I am sure we can run no Hazard, at least of passing for Fools. These Men (whose firm Adherence to the most exquisite Tyranny is manifest by their indefatigable Endeavours in behalf of the French King's Interests, as formerly of the House of Austria's whilft it was in its Height) have by these Arts ingroffed to themselves the Education of the Youth in all Popish Countries. The Lutheran Priests (who bave an entire Dependence on their Kings and Princes) are intrusted with the like in those Countries which observe the Confession of Ausburg. They also fend abroad some of their hopefullest young Students, several of which may be met with at Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris: The Use they make of Travel being not only to improve their Knowledge in Sciences. but to learn fit Methods to please their Sovereigns at the Expence of the People's Liberties. Now in former Ages, whill the Ecclefiafticks were both ignorant and feandaloufly wicked, they were not esteemed by the Laity, and confequently had not so much Power to do Mischief: But since that thro' a Reformation of Manners, and Knowledge of the World, they have recover'd Credit, and that the restored Learning of Europe is principally lodg'd among them, they have gained a much greater Influence both on the Opinions and Practices of their Disciples, and promoted a pernicious Doctrine with all the Success they themselves could desire. But the same Travel will afford W 252 the the best Antidote for this Poison, and teach a Gentleman, who makes right Use of it, by what Steps Slavery has within these last 200 Years crept upon Europe; most of the Protestant, as well as Popish Countries, baving in a manner quite lost the precious Tewel, Liberty. This cannot be attributed to any more probable Cause than the enslaving the Spirits of the People, as a Preparative to that of their Bodies; for since those foreign Princes think it their Interest that Subjects should obey without Reserve, and all Priests, who depend upon the Prince, are for their own Sakes obliged to promote what he esteems his Interest; 'tis plain, the Education of Youth, on which is laid the very Foundation Stones of the publick Liberty, has been of late Years committed to the sole Management of such as make it their Bufiness to undermine it; and must needs do so, unless they will be false to their Fortunes, and make the Character of Priest give place to that of true Patriot.

'Tis confest that in their Schools and Universities, excellent Rules for attaining Languages and Sciences are made use of with greater Success than any beretofore: Those Youths especially, who have been bred among the Jesuits, are justly remarked to excel others of equal Parts instructed elsewhere: But still this is only a Training up in the Knowledge of Words and Languages, whereof there is seldom any Occasion, as if the Pupils were intended to be made School-Masters; whilft the weightier Matters of true Learning, whereof one has occasion every Hour, such as good Principles, Morals, the Improvement of Reason, the Love of Justice, the Value of Liberty, the Duty owing to one's Country and the Laws, are either quite omitted, or flightly paffed over. Indeed they forget not to recommend frequently to them what they call the Queen of all Virtues, viz. Submission to Superiors, and an entire blind Obedience to Authority, without instructing them in the due Measures of it, rather teaching them that 'tis without all Bounds. Thus the Spirits of Men are from the Beginning inured to Subjection, and deprived of the right Notion of a generous and legal Freedom, which sew among them (so hardly are the Prejudices of Education shaken off) grow sensible of, till they become of some Age and Maturity, or have unlearn'd by good Company and Travel those dangerous passive Doctrines they suck'd in at the Schools and Universities: But most have the Missortune to carry these slavish Opinions with them to their Graves.

Had these Countries, whilst they were free, committed the Government of their Youth to Philosophers instead of Priests, they had in all Probability preserved themselves from the Yoak of Bondage to this Day; whereas now they not only endure it, but approve of it likewise. Tantum relligio potuit!

The Greeks and Romans instituted their Academies to quite another Purpose; the whole Education of their Youth tended to make them as useful to the Society they lived in as possible. There they were trained up to Exercise and Labour, to accustom them to an active Life: No Vice was more infamous than Sloth, nor any Man more contemptible than him that was too lazy to do all the Good be could. The Lectures of their Philosophers served to quicken them up to this: They recommended above all things the Duty to their Country, the Preservation of the Laws and the publick Liberty; subservient to which they preach'd up Moral Virtues, such as Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, a Contempt of Death, &c. Sometimes they made use of pious Cheats, as Elysian Fields, and an Assurance of future Happiness, if they died in the Cause of their Country, and even decrived their Hearers into Greatness: Hence proceeded

ceeded all those Noble Characters wherewith their Histories are so stock'd: Hence it was that their Philosophers were deservedly look'd upon as Supports of the State; they bad their Dependence wholly upon it; and as they could have no Interest distinct from it, they laid out themselves towards the advancing and promoting the Good of it, insomuch that we find the very good Fortune of their Commonwealths often lasted no longer than they did. The Managers of our modern Education have not been quite so publickspirited; for it has been, as I have shewn, for the most part in the Hands of Men who have a distinct Interest from the Publick; therefore 'tis not to be wonder'd at, if, like the rest of the World, they have been byaffed by it, and directed their principal Defigns towards the advancing their own Fortunes.

Good Learning as well as Travel is a great Antidote against the Plague of Tyranny. The Books that are left us of the Ancients (from whence, as from Fountains, we draw all that we are now Masters of) are full of Dostrines, Sentences, and Examples exhorting to the Confervation or Recovery of the publick Liberty, which was once valued above Life. The Heroes there celebrated are for the most part such as had destroyed or expelled Tyrants; and though Brutus be generally declaimed against by modern School-boys, he was then esteemed the true Pattern and Model of exact Virtue. Such was Cato of Utica, with others of like Stamp. The more any Person is conversant with good Books, the more shall be find the Practices of these great Men in this Particular founded upon Reason, Justice, and Truth; and unanimously approved of by most of the succeeding wife Men which the World has produced.

But instead of Books which inform the Judgment, those are commonly read in the Schools abroad, wherein an Elegancy of Latin and Greek Style is more sought

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after than the Matter contained in them: So that fuch as treat a little boldly of publick Liberty occur to the reading of few, and those grown Men, rather through Chance or their Curiosity, than the Recom-

mendation of their Instructors.

Twas not to learn Foreign Languages that the Grecian and Roman Youths went for so long together to the Academies and Lectures of their Philosophers. 'Twas not then, as now with us, when the Character of a Scholar is to be skill'd in Words; when one who is well versed in the dark Terms and Subtilties of the Schools passes for a profound Philosopher; by which we seem so far to have perverted the Notion of Learning, that a Man may be reputed a most extraordinary Scholar, and at the same Time be the most useless Thing in the World; much less was it to learn their own Mother Tongues, the Greek and Latin, which we hunt after so eagerly for many Years together, (not as being the Vehicles of good Sense, but as if they had some intrinsick Virtue.) 'Twas to learn how and when to speak pertinently, bow to att like a Man, to subdue the Passions, to be publick-spirited, to despise Death, Torments, and Reproach, Riches, and the Smiles of Princes as well as their Frowns, if they stood between them and their Duty. This Manner of Education produced Men of another Stamp than appears now upon the Theatre of the World; such as we are scarce worthy to mention, and must never hope to imitate, till the like Manner of Institution grows again into Reputation; which in enslaved Countries' tis never likely to do, as long as the Ecclefiasticks, who have an opposite Interest, keep not only the Education of Youth, but the Consciences of old Men in their Hands.

To serve By-ends, and because Priests thought they should find their own account in it, they calculated those unintelligible Dostrines of Passive Obedience

dience and Jus Divinum; that the People ought to pay an absolute Obedience to a limited Government, fall down and worship the Work of their own Hands, as if it dropt from Heaven; together with other as profitable Dostrines, which no doubt many are by this time ashamed of, they think it below them to condescend so far as to confess themselves to have been in the wrong: For this Notion of Jus Divinum of Kings and Princes was never known in these Northern Parts of the World till these latter Ages of Slavery. Even in the Eastern Countries, though they adore their Kings as Gods, yet they never fancied they received their Right to reign immediately from Heaven. The single Example in Scripture so much insisted on, viz. the Reign of Saul over the Jews, and Samuel's Description of what a King would be, not what he lawfully might be, proves either nothing at all, or the contrary to what some would have it: For besides that there are many Relations of Fast in the Old Testament, not condemned there, which it would not only be inconvenient, but finful for us to imitate; whoever peruses the whole Story of Saul and his Succeffor, will therein find more substantial Arguments against the Jus Divinum and Non-Resistance than for it. But we shall leave this, both as being too large an Argument for the Compass of a Preface, and as being already fully handled by more able Pens.

All Europe was in a manner a free Country till very lately, insomuch that the Europeans were, and still are, distinguish'd in the Eastern Parts of the World by the Name of Franks. In the Beginning, small Territories, or Congregations of People, chose valiant and wise Men to be their Captains or Judges, and as often deposed them upon Mismanagement. These Captains (doing their Duty well and faithfully) were the Originals of all our Kings and Princes; which at first, and for a long time, were every where Elective.

Elective. According to their own warlike Temper. or that of the People which they govern'd, they (upon the Score of Revenge, Ambition, or being overthronged with Multitudes at home) encroached upon their Neighbours, till from petty Principalities their Countries waxed to mighty Kingdoms; Spain alone confisting of twelve or thirteen till tother day, and one Part of our Island of no less than seven. Each of these was at first made through an Union of many petty Lordships. Italy, from several small Commonwealths, was at length swallowed up by the Emperors, Popes, Kings of Spain, Dukes of Florence, and other lesser Tyrants. Yet 'tis to be remarked that the ancient State of Europe is best preferved in Italy even to this day, notwithstanding the Encroachments which have been there made on the People's Liberties; of which one Reason may be, that the Republicks, which are more in Number and Quality in that Spot of Ground than in all Europe besides, keep their Ecclesiasticks within their due Bounds, and make use of that natural Wit which Providence and a happy Climate has given them, to curb those who, if they had Power, would eurb all the World.

Every one ought to know how great the Rights of the People were very lately in the Elective Kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark; how Germany was freer than any other Part of Europe, till at length 'twas lorded by Captains, (who in process of time grew Princes and Electors) and by Bishops with temporal Authority, who may thank Charles the Great (a very bigotted Prince) for their double Sword of Flesh and Spirit.

If it be objected that Princes have acquired a Right to be absolute and arbitrary where the Subjects have given up their Liberties, there are some in the World who venture to answer, That no People in their

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right Wits, (that is) not guided by Fear or Tumult, can be supposed to confer an absolute Dominion, or to give away the Freedom of themselves and their Posterity for all Generations; that such a Donation ought to be esteemed of no greater Validity than the Gift of an Estate by a Child or a Mad-man from bis lawful Successor; that the People can no more part with their legal Liberties, than Kings can alienate their Crowns: That nothing which even the Representative Body of the People does, which shall afterwards tend to the Detriment of the Universality, can then be obligatory, because many Things good and profitable at the Time of making those Laws may be the quite contrary afterwards; and as soon as any Law grows apparently mischievous to the whole Body that made it, or their Successors, it ought by them to be repealed, and would certainly be so in Countries where frequent free Assemblies of the States are in Use: That if these Assemblies be hindred, or corrupted by sinister Practices, the obliging Quality of fuch a Law determines of itself through its own Nature, it being supposed that the true Representatives of the People would have annull'd it, bad they been permitted to meet and act freely: That the Acts of one general Parliament, though a free one, are not perpetually obliging, since that as well as particular Persons is liable to Mistakes; but the Acts of an eternal Succession of Parliaments, who make, confirm, change, or repeal Laws at their Pleasure.

These are hard Sayings in the Opinion of many; but thus much we are sure of, whoever goes about to destroy or diminish the Right of the People in the Disposal of the Crown, at the same Time subverts their Majesties Title to it: 'Tis therefore seasonable now or never to assert both; notwithstanding the Prevarication of those who dare att under and receive benefit by this Revolution, which they contributed nothing

nothing to, but which the People through God's Afsistance procured for themselves; yet will not dive into the Merits of the Cause, nor own the Lawfulness of the Fast; but either cautiously avoid the Argument, or, if it comes cross their way, mumble it as tenderly as the Ass did the Thistle, which caused the Philosopher to laugh, who never did it in his Life but that once. So this manner of Behaviour would move both the Laughter and Indignation of all understanding Persons. Lovers of their Country's legal Liberties; for none are forced to fall under greater Absurdities, or to make more terrible Blunders in Divinity, Politicks, and good Sense, than such as would fain reconcile present Interest to their old beloved Maxims: Res est ridicula & nimis jocofa. Catull. But Heaven be praised, the Nation is almost freed from the gross Error of that savish Doctrine, in spite of the Endeavours of such as would keep it alive, like bot Embers cover'd over with Ashes, ready to be blown up again into a Flame upon the first Occasion.

In Russia and Muscovy the Government is as tyrannical as in any of the more Eastern Monarchies. The Priests there have very much contributed both to make and keep it so. To the end that the People may be kept in the requisite Temper of Obedience, none are permitted to travel upon pain of Death, except such as have special Licence, which are exceeding few; neither are any Gentlemen of those Countries to be met with abroad, but publick Ministers and their Retinue. The Cause of this severe Probibition is, lest such Travellers should see the Liberty of other Nations, and be tempted to covet the like for themselves at home, which might occasion Innovations in the State. The same Reason which induces Tyrants to prohibit Travelling, should encourage the People of free Countries to practife it, in order to learn the Methods of preserving that which once lost is very difficultly recover'd; for Tyranny ranny usually steals upon a State by degrees, and is (as a wife Man said) like a Hectick Fever, which at first is easy to be cured, but hardly can be known; after tis thoroughly known, it becomes almost incurable. Now Travel best of all other Methods discovers (at least Expence) the Symptoms of this pernicious Disease, as well as its dismal Effects when grown to a head; and tis certainly of greater Importance to understand how to preserve a sound Constitution, than how to repair a crazed one, though this also be a beneficial piece of

Knowledge.

In our own Universities, which are without controversy the best in the World, whether we consider their Revenues, their Buildings, or their Learning, there are travelling Fellowships established; which, in a Country where the Clergy's Interest is not distinct from that of the Laity, is so far from being prejudicial to the legal Liberties of the People, that it tends to the Conservation of them: For such worthy Men as are employ'd abroad, may bring home generous Notions of Liberty, and make admirable Remarks on the contrary State; which being inculcated from the Pulpit, and enforced by the learned Arguments of able Divines, must needs overthrow those service Opinions, which of late have been too much back'd by God's Authority, almost to the Ruin of a Free People.

I do not hereby mean to reflect on the Order which generally has the Government of our Youth; we have had the Experience of many among them who have given proof of a freer Education and useful Learning: And without question the chief Posts of the Gown of both kinds were never beter fill'd than at present. I only lament the ill Contrivance of their Constitution; for while Interest draws one way, and Honesty another; when a Man may make his Fortune by forgetting his Duty to his Country, but shall always stick at Mark while he serves it; 'tis scarcely to be hoped Men should

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bold out against such Temptations, unless they be more gifted with Honesty than the generality of Mankind are. And since they continue still upon the same Bottom, it must be expected the same, or other as mischievous Doctrines, will every Day be broach'd; whereas if they were once set upon the same foot the Philosophers of old were, if Honesty and the Duty to their Country were made their private Interest, and the way to thrive; we should soon see them shift hands, and the Spirit of those Philosophers revive again in them.

The Constitution of our Universities, as to Learning, seems as unfortunately regulated as it is to Politicks. We receive the Directions of our Studies there, from Statutes made by those who understood nothing of the Matter, who had a quite different Notion and Taste of Learning from what the World has at present. It seems as ridiculous to take Patterns for the gentile Learning of this Age from the old-fashion'd Learning of the Times wherein the University Statutes were compiled, as it would be for one who would appear well dress'd at Court, to make his Cloaths after the Mode in Henry the VIII's Day: But 'tis of infinitely worse Consequence; for the Prejudices and wrong Notions, the Stiffness and Positiveness in Opinion, the Litigiousness and Wrangling, all which the old Philosophy breeds, besides the Narrow-spiritedness, and not enduring of Contradiction, which are generally contracted by a Monastick Life, require a great deal of Time to get rid of; and, until they be filed off by Conversation in the World abroad, a Man's Learning does but render bim more useless and unfit for Society.

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I dare appeal to common Experience, whether those excellent Men that of late Years have been preferred in our Church (than which Set of Divines England scarce ever knew a better) be not for the most part such as have been very conversant with the World; and if they have not all travell'd out of this Kingdom, have

at least spent the best Part of their Days in this Epitome of the World, the City of London, where they have learnt Christian Liberty as well as other Christian Virtues. The great difference between these and others of narrow opiniatre Tempers, caus'd by their Monklike Education, is discernible by every body; and puts it out of all doubt, that such who have seen most, of what Profession soever they be, prove the most honest and virtuous Men, and fittest for human Society: These embrace better Notions relating to the Publick, weigh Opinions before they adhere to them, have a larger Stock of Charity, a clearer Manner of distinguishing between Just and Unjust, understand better the Laws of our own Land, as well as the Privileges and Frailties of Human Nature; and all this in a Degree far excelling the most zealous learned religious Person who has been brought up in his Cell, and is therefore what we call a Bigot, stiff in an Opinion, merely because he has been used to it, and is ashamed to be thought capable of being deceived.

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Lawyers, whose manner of Breeding is much abroad in the World, and who are used to promiscuous Conversation, have been observed in most Places to be great Favourers of Liberty, because their Knowledge of ancient Practice, and the just Title which the People have to their Privileges (which they meet with every where in their Course of Reading) makes them less scrupulous of committing what some Divines miscall a Sin in those that endeavour to preserve or recover them: The Oversights of some sew Gentlemen of this honourable Profession are therefore the less excusable; for I must consess, among other things, that Motto, A Deo Rex, a Rege Lex, \* wherein the Divine Right of the impious Will of a Tyrant is as strongly asserted as could be in the Compass of a Ring, has occasioned fre-

\* In January 1683, 35 Car. II. there was a Call of Sixteen Serjeants at Law, who gave Rings with this Motto.

quent Reflections, not much in favour of those that

made use of it.

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Thus I have touch'd upon the Manner of Education necessary to the beginning and finishing a Gentleman, who is to be useful to his Country, which I suppose ought to be the principal End of it. And I can't but believe, if in our Schools our Youth were bred up to understand the Meaning of the Authors they are made to read, as well as the Syntax of the Words: If there were as much care taken to inculcate the good Maxims, and recommend the noble Characters the old Historians are so full of, as there is to hammer into their Heads the true Grammar of them, and the Fineness of the Phrase: If in our Universities a proportionable Care were taken to furnish them with noble and generous Learning: If after this they were duly informed in the Laws and Affairs of their own Country, trained up in good Conversation and useful Knowledge at home, and then sent abroad when their Heads began to be well settled, when the Heat of Youth was worn off, and their Judgments ripe enough to make Observation: I say, I cannot but believe that with this manner of Institution a very moderate Understanding might do Wonders, and the coming home fully instructed in the Constitutions of other Governments, would make a Man but the more resolute to maintain bis own.

For the Advantage of a free Government above its Contrary needs no other help to make it appear, than only to be exposed to a considerate View with it: The Difference may be seen written in the very Faces of the several People, as well as in their manner of living; and when we find nothing but Misery in the fruitfullest Countries subject to arbitrary Power, but always a Face of Plenty and Chearfulness in Countries naturally unfruitful, which have preserved their Liberties, there is no further Room left

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for Argument, and one cannot be long in determining which is most eligible. This Observation is so obvious that 'tis hard for any that travels not to make it; therefore 'tis a sufficient Reason why all our Gentry should go abroad. An Englishman should be shewn the Misery of the enslaved Parts of the World, to make him in Love with the Happiness of his own Country; as the Spartans exposed their drunken Servants to their Children, to make them in Love with Sobriety.

But the more polish'd and delicious Countries of France, Spain, or Italy, are not the Places where this Observation may be made to greatest Advantage; the Manner of Living, Goodness of the Air and Diet, the Magnificence of the Buildings, Pleasantness of the Gardens, pompous Equipage of some great Persons, dazzle the Eyes of most Travellers, and cast a Disguise upon the Slavery of those Parts; and as they render this Evil more supportable to the Natives, so they almost quite bide it from the View of a cursory Traveller, amusing him too much from considering the Calamities which accompany so much Splendor, and so many natural Blessings; or from reflecting bow much more bappy the Condition of the People would be with better Usage. But in the Northern Kingdoms and Provinces there appears little or nothing to divert the Mind from contemplating Slavery in its own Colours, without any of its Ornaments. And since, for that Reason, few of our Gentlemen find Temptation enough to travel into those Parts, and we have bardly any tolerable Relation of them extant, though we have frequent Occasions of being concerned with them, I thought it might be of use to publish the following Account of Denmark, which I took care to be informed of upon the Place with the greatest Exactness posfible, and have related fairly and impartially, which may fave the Curious the Labour and Expence of that Voyage.

That Kingdom has often had the Misfortune to be govern'd by French Counsels. At the Time when Mr. Algernon Sidney was Ambassador at that Court, Monsieur Terlon, the French Ambassador, had the Considence to tear out of the Book of Mottos in the King's Library, this Verse, which Mr. Sidney (according to the Liberty allowed to all noble Strangers) had written in it:

Manus hæc inimica Tyrannis Enfe petit placidam sub Libertate quietem.

Though Monsieur Terlon understood not a Word of Latin, he was told by others the Meaning of that Sentence, which he considered as a Libel upon the French Government, and upon such as was then setting up in

Denmark by French Assistance or Example.

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To conclude: A considering English Traveller will find by Experience, that at present nothing is so generally studied by the Sovereign Princes of the World, as the Arts of War, and the keeping of their own Countries in the defired Subjection; the Arts of Peace, whereby the Increase and Prosperity of their Subjects might be promoted, being either intirely neglected or faintly prosecuted. He will further be convinced what great Reason he has to bless Providence for his being born, and continuing yet a Freeman: He will find that the securing this inestimable Blessing to himself, and transmitting it to late Posterity, is a Duty he owes to his Country; the right Performance of which does, in a great measure, depend upon a good Education of our Youth, and the Preservation of our Constitution upon its true and natural Basis, The Original Contract: All other Foundations being false, nonsensical, and rotten; derogatory to the present Government, and absolutely destructive to the legal Liberties of the English Nation.

Salus populi suprema lex esto.





AN

# ACCOUNT

OF

## DENMARK,

As it was in the YEAR 1692.

#### CHAP. I.

Of the Territories belonging to the King of Denmark, and their Situation.



F we consider the Extent of the King of *Denmark*'s Dominions, he may with Justice be reckoned among the greatest Princes of *Europe*; but if we have regard to the Importance and Value of them,

he may be put in Balance with the King of Portugal, and possibly be found lighter.

His Style is, King of Denmark and Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, Duke of Sleswick and Holstein,

Holstein, Stormar and Ditmarsh; Earl in Oldenburg and Delmenborst; all which Countries he actually possesses either in Whole or in Part: So that except that of the Goths and Vandals, which Title both he and the King of Sweden use, and which the Crown of Denmark has retained ever since it was Master of Sweden (as we in England do that of France) all the rest are substantial and not empty Titles.

My Design is to acquaint you with the present State of these Countries, and to offer nothing but what I have either collected from sensible grave Persons, or what my own Knowledge and

Experience has confirm'd to be Truth.

Since the late Wars between that famous Captain Charles Gustavus of Sweden, and Frederic III. which ended in a Peace Anno 1660, Denmark has been forced to sit down with the Loss of all its Territories which lay on the other Side of the Baltick Sea; Schonen, Halland, and Bleking remaining to the Swedes, notwithstanding frequent Struggles to recover them. These three (especially Schonen) were the best Provinces belonging to Denmark, and therefore are still looked upon with a very envious Eye by the Danes: And for this very Reason 'tis reported, that the Windows of Cronenburgh Castle, whose Prospect lay towards Schonen, were wall'd up, that so hateful an Object might not cause continual Heart-burnings.

Denmark therefore, as it is thus clipp'd, is at present bounded on all Sides with the Sea, except one small Neck of Land, where it joins to Holstein; the German Ocean washes it on the West and North-West; the Entrance into the Baltick, called the Categate, on the North and North-East; the Baltick on the East; and the River Eyder on the South; which having its Source very

near the East Sea, takes its Course Westward, and falls into the Ocean at Toningen, a strong Town of the Duke of Holstein Gottorp's: So that if a Channel were made of about three Danish Miles from that River to Kiel, 'twould be a perfect Island. I include in this Account the Dutchy of Sleswick as Part of Denmark, but not the Dutchy of Holstein; because the former was a Fief of that Crown, the latter of the Empire.

All Denmark therefore, comprehending its Islands, as I have thus bounded it, lies in Length between 54gr. 45min and 58gr. 15min. North Latitude, the Breadth not being proportionable; and may at a large Computation be reckoned to amount to the Bigness of two Thirds of the King-

dom of Ireland.

Norway, which lies North from Denmark, and is feparated from it by that Sea which is usually called the Categate, is a vast and barren Country, full of Mountains and Fir-trees; it reaches from 59 to 71 Degrees of North Latitude; but is very narrow in respect to its Length. It is bounded on the West and North by the Ocean; on the East by Sweden and the Territories belonging to it; on the South by the Sea lying between it and Den-The Sea is fo deep about it, that there is no Anchorage for Ships; and therefore its Coasts are accounted the most dangerous of any in Europe to run with in the Night, or in a Storm; on which if you chance to be driven, there is no escaping, the Shoar being all along high Rocks, at the very Foot of which one may find 200 Fathom Water.

Holstein, which includes Ditmarsh and Stormar, is bounded by the Dutchy of Sleswick on the North, the Dutchy of Saxe Lawenburg on the South East, the River Elbe on the South-West; the rest of it is washed

washed by the Ocean and Baltick Sea. It lies between the 54th and 55th Degrees of North Latitude.

Oldenburg and Delmenborst are two Counties in Germany that lie together, detached from all the rest of the King of Denmark's Countries; the two Rivers, Elbe and Weser, and the Dutchy of Bremen, interposing between them and Holstein. They are bounded on the North-East by the Weser, on the West by East-Friesland and the County of Embden, on the South by part of the Bishoprick of Munster. They are a small Territory of about 35 English Miles in Diameter; the Middle of which is in the Latitude of 53 Degrees and a half.

The rest of the King of Denmark's Territories, not mentioned in the Enumeration of his Titles, are the Islands of Feroe and Island in the Northern Ocean; St. Thomas, one of the Caribbee Islands in the West-Indies; a Fort upon the Coast of Guinea, call'd Christiansburg; and another in the East-Indies, call'd Tranquebar. He has likewise

a Toll at Elfleet upon the River Weser.

Thus much may ferve in general touching the Dominions of that King; which have this great Inconveniency, that they are mightily disjoined and feparated from each other; it being certain, that a State which is confined by many Principalities is weak, exposed to many Dangers, and requires a more than ordinary Expence, as well as Prudence, to preserve it entire: And it is to this principally that the Conquests which the Swedes have gained upon them may be ascribed.

#### CHAP. II.

Of DENMARK in particular, and the Island of ZEALAND.

THIS being the most considerable, and in Value four Parts in five of all the Territories belonging to the Crown of Denmark, I shall give a more particular Account of it than of the rest. Others, I know, have given us the Genealogies and Succession of its Kings, ancient Names, Inhabitants, Conquests, &c; my Business is only to inform how it stands at this Day, and to enter no further into the former History, or the Geography of the Country, than is necessary to the

understanding the present State of it.

Denmark then, properly fo called, confifts of many Islands in the Baltick Sea, and of that Part of the Continent which is now called Jutland: The Dutchy of Slefwick, which I reckoned in the former Chapter as part of it, shall be treated of by itself, because it is divided between the King and the Duke of Holstein Gottorp; whereas these above mentioned are wholly the King's. Jutland is the biggest and most fertile Country, but the Islands are more confiderable in regard of their Situation, especially Zealand; because Copenhagen, the chief City of Denmark, is feated in it, and the famous Passage of the Sound is bordered by its Shoar, where, on the narrowest part, the Town of Elsinore stands: wherefore I shall begin with a Description of them, and first of Zealand.

It is almost of a circular Figure, and contains about 180 English Miles in Circumference. I cannot commend its Fertility, there being no Bread-corn growing in any Part of it except Rye. which indeed is in good Quantity, and whereof most of their Bread is made. There are few Meadows in it, and yet there is no Want of good Hay: Most of their Grass, which is short and fweet, grows by the Sides of the Corn Fields, or in some scattered Spots of Marish Grounds. has no Rivers, nor above half a fcore Brooks that are able to turn a Mill; to supply this, there is a great Number of fine Lakes fufficiently stored The Air is but indifferent, especially with Fish. in and near Copenbagen; which is occasioned by the frequent Fogs and low Situation; yet Colds of the Lungs are very rare here: This I attribute to the Pureness of their Firing, which is Beechwood, the only Sort of Timber Trees which abound in this Island. About one fourth Part of it is Forest, lying open for the King's Hunting and his Game, fuch as Stags, Wild-Boars, Roe-Bucks, &c. These are such facred Things, that no body dares touch them, though they find them in whole Herds deftroying their Corn, to the infinite yearly Damage of the poor Peafants.

The Face of the Land is pleasant in many places, abounding with little Hills, Woods and Lakes, in a very agreeable Diversity. For Sea-Ports, that most excellent one belonging to Copenhagen must make amends for the Want of them, not only in this, but many other of the Islands; there being sew others, that I know of, capable of harbouring a Vessel of 200 Tons.

Neither is this a fenfible Want, because there are no Commodities in this Island for Exportation: In good Years, that is, wet ones (for the Soil be-

ing altogether sandy, requires frequent Rains, even thus far North) there may be some Overplus of Rye; and I have been told, that about forty Years ago, ten or twelve Dutch Fly-boats sound yearly their Lading at Kiog, a pretty flourishing Town at that time, within twenty English Miles of Copenhagen; but of late they seem to be well satisfied if the Product of the Isle maintains in this sort of Grain the Inhabitants of it: Not that the Numbers of these are increased, but Husbandry is not so much encouraged now, as when the Taxes of the poor Country People were less frequent and grievous.

The Cattle here are generally small and lean; kept within Doors seven or eight Months in the Year; where their Feeding is partly Hay, partly Brewers Grains, Roots, Weeds, and such Trash as their Owners can provide for them. In Summer-time their Beef is sweet and juicy; but Weather Mutton was a rare thing till of late; nor is it common now, they being not used to geld their Sheep; and therefore 'twas usually eaten while it

was Lamb.

The Feeding of the Commonalty generally throughout all Denmark is very mean; the Burghers and Citizens sustaining themselves with Rye-Bread, Salt-slesh, Stock-sish, Bacon, and very bad Cheese; insomuch that the Inspectors of our Markets in England, who use to destroy or send to the Prisons all such Victuals as are not judged wholsome, would (if they sound them no better provided than at Copenhagen) go near to empty the Markets, and leave little to either Buyer or Seller. The Peasants live on Roots, White-Meats, and Rye-bread; seldom tasting fresh Fish, and scarce ever Flesh, unless on some extraordinary Festivals, as on St. Martin's Eve, when each Family

Family in Denmark, without fail, makes merry

with a roafted Goofe at Supper.

Here, and in all Denmark, are but two Seafons of the Year, Winter and Summer; those two other more agreeable ones of Spring and Autumn not being commonly known; the Spring never, and the Autumn feldom: You immediately leap from Extremity of Heat to Extremity of Cold; and so on the contrary, when Winter is over, from Cold to Heat. During the three Months of June, July, and August, the Heat is much more intense than in England, and very fultry in the Nights; but 'tis a gloomy Heat, and People generally perceive some Interposition of thick Vapours between them and the Sun. In Copenhagen, during these three Months, they are constantly troubled with the Plague of Flies, which they endeavour to destroy by a poisoned Water; upon the laying of which in their Kitchens and Chambers, I have feen whole Bushels of dead Flies fwept together in one Room.

The Baltick Sea near this City is very ill stored with good Fish, neither did I ever know any Sea-Town of that Consequence worse served with it: Whether it be that the Sea wants its requisite Saltness, (being rather to be esteemed brackish than salt) or that the People are not industrious enough to take them; but I rather believe the former.

The principal Things of this Island, and indeed of all Denmark, are the City of Copenhagen, and the Passage of the Sound. I will begin with the City, the rather because when I have done with that, I have little more to say of any other in the King of Denmark's Dominions; there being no other belonging to him much better than our Town of St. Alban's.

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Copenhagen is no ancient City, nor a very large one; it approaches in Bigness nearest to Bristol of any of our English Cities; but it increases in Buildings every Day, notwithstanding the many Discouragements it lies under. The Fortifications of it inclose a great deal more Ground than is built upon; and many fmall Buildings, which upon a farther Increase of its Riches, will be pulled down. Its Situation for Trade is one of the best in the World, because of the Excellency of its Port; so that without doubt, were Copenhagen a free City, it would be the Mart and Staple of all the Traffick of the Baltick. This Port is inclosed by the Bulwarks of the Town, the Entrance into it being so narrow, that but one Ship can pass at a time; which Entrance is every Night shut up with a ftrong Boom. The Citadel on one Side, and a good Block-house well furnished with Cannon on the other, command the Mouth of it. Within this Haven rides the Navy Royal, every Ship having its Place affigned to it. A wooden Gallery ranges round the whole Inclosure where the Fleet lies; laid over the Water in such Manner, that all the Ships may be viewed near at hand as eafily and commodiously as if they lay on dry Land. This Harbour is capacious enough to hold 500 Sail, where neither Wind nor Enemies can do them the least Mischief. The Road without is very good and fafe; being fenced from the Sea by a large Sand-Bank, on the Points of which float always a couple of Buoys to direct all Ships that come in or go out. Here are no Tides to fear; but always a fufficient Depth of Water Sometimes indeed, according as the Winds blow in or out of the Baltick, there fets a Current; but tis not frequent, nor dangerous. To conclude, this

this Port may justly be reckoned in all Respects one of the best in the whole World.

The Town is strong, being situated in a flat Marish Soil, not commanded by any Height. The Air is bad by reason of the Stink of the Channels which are cut through it. The Works of it are only of Earth and Sods, yet raifed according to the Rules of modern Fortification, and in tolerable good Repair. The Buildings, both in this City and elsewhere, are generally very mean, being Cage-work, and having the Intervals between the Timbers filled up with Brick. 'Tis observable, that all the good Publick Buildings in it, such as the Change, Arsenal, Round-Steeple, &c. were built by King Christian the Fourth, the present King's Grandsather, and a very brave though not a fortunate Prince; who did more with lefs Revenues than all the fucceeding Princes; the Monarchy being at that time neither Hereditary nor Absolute. He used often to fay, That he knew the Purses of his Subjects would be always open for his and the Kingdom's just Occasions; and that he had rather they were his Cash-keepers than a High-Treasurer, who might abuse him. Although the principal Decorations of this Town are owing to him, yet he either forgot or delay'd the building of a Palace for himself and his Successors, and no body has undertaken it fince; though certainly in no Kingdom is there greater Occafion, this King's House of Residence being for Situation, Meanness, and Inconvenience, the worst in the World; and as fingular for Badness, as the Port is for Goodness; several of the Noblemen, as his High Excellency Guldenlieu, the great Admiral Juel, with others, being infinitely better lodged than the whole Royal Family. Yet to make amends for this, his Majesty has near him

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## An Account of DENMARK. II

an excellent Stable of Horses; and handsome large Gardens, with a good Garden-house, called Rosenburg, some Distance from the Palace, at the other End of the Town.

# CHAP. III. Of the SOUND.

Ore-sound, which has so great a Reputation in the Northern Parts of the World, lies between the Island of Zealand and the firm Land of Schonen. On Denmark Side, where it is narrowest, stands the Town of Elsinore, and the strong Fortress of Cronenburg; near which is a tolerable good Road for Ships. On Sweden Side is the Town of Helsinburg with a demolished Castle, whereof only one old Tower remains, sufficient to hold half a dozen great Guns to repay the Salutes of Men of

War which pass through.

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nim an Betwixt these two do pass and repass all Vessels that trade into the Baltick; so that next that of Gibraltar, one may justly reckon this Streight the most important and frequented of any in Europe. The Loss of Schonen, though it was considerable in regard of the Largeness and Fruitfulness of the Province, yet it was more so in respect to the Dominion of this great Passage; for althoothe Danes, by the Treaty of Peace, have expressly retained their Title to it, and receive Toll from all Ships that pass except Swedes, yet they do not esteem the Security of that Title so firm as they would wish; for not being Masters of the Land on both Sides, they may have the Right, but not the

## 12 An Account of DENMARK.

Power to affert it upon Occasion, and seem only to enjoy it at present according to their good Behaviour; their stronger Neighbour the Swede being able to make use of the first Opportunity

given him to their Prejudice.

This Toll, being very considerable, and of late Years occasioning many Disputes which are not yet determined, I thought it might not be amiss to set down in this Place, what I have learnt of the Original and Nature of it, after having made as strict Enquiry as was possible, from the most ancient and most understanding Persons I could meet with.

The most rational Account then, is, That it was at first laid by the Consent of the Traders into the Baltick, who were willing to allow a small matter for each Ship that passed, towards the maintaining of Lights on certain Places of that Coast, for the better Direction of Sailors in dark Nights: Hereupon this Paffage of the Sound became the most practifed; that other of the Great Belt being in a little Time quite neglected; as well because of the great Conveniency of those Lights to the Shipping that passed in and out of the East Sea, as because of an Agreement made that no Ships should pass the other Way, to the end that all might pay their Shares; it being unreasonable that such Ships should have the Benefit of those Lights in dark or stormy Winter Nights, who avoided paying towards the maintaining of those Fires, by passing another Way. Besides, if this manner of avoiding the Payment had been allowed, the Revenue would have been fo infignificant, confidering the fmall Sum which each Ship was to pay, that the Lights could not have been maintained by it; and the Danes were not willing to be at the Charge folely for the Use

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and Benefit of their own trading Ships, in regard they were Masters of so sew as made it not worth their while; the Lubeckers, Dantzickers, and Merchants of other Hanse Towns, being the greatest Traders at that Time in the Northern Parts of Europe, by which they arrived to a great height of Power and Riches.

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But there being no fixed Rule or Treaty whereby to be governed with regard to the different Bulk of the Ships belonging to fo many feveral Nations, the Danes began in process of Time to grow arbitrary, and exacted more or less Sums, according to the Strength or Weakness of those they had to deal with, or according to their Friendship or Discontent with those Princes and States to whom the feveral Ships belonged: Therefore the Emperor Charles the Fifth, to ascertain this Toll, concluded a Treaty with the King of Denmark, which was figned at Spire on the Rhine, and was in behalf of his Subjects of the Seventeen Provinces of the Low Countries, who had great Traffick in the Baltick; and agreed that as a Toll-Custom in the Sound, every Ship of 200 Tuns and under should pay two Rose Nobles at its Entrance or Return from the Baltick, and every Ship above 200 Tuns three Rose Nobles.

This Agreement remained in Force till such time as the *United Provinces* shook off the *Spanish* Yoke; and then the *Danes* taking the Advantage of those Wars, raised their Toll to an extravagant Height, the troublesome Times not affording leisure to the *Dutch* to mind the redressing of such a Mischief.

However, about the Year 1600, they joined themselves with the City of Lubeck, in Opposition to such an exorbitant Toll as was taken from both of them; so that from thenceforth the Dutch paid

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## 14 An Account of DENMARK.

more or less, according as Fortune was favourable

or adverse to them; but generally little.

Anno 1647 the first Treaty was made between Denmark and the United Provinces (as Sovereigns) for this Toll; and they were oblig'd to pay a certain Sum for each Ship. This Treaty was to last Forty Years; after the Expiration of which, if in the mean time no new Treaty were made, that of Spire was to be in Force.

This Treaty of 1647 expired 1687; and the Danes agreed to make an interim Treaty, till fuch time as the many Differences between them and the Hollanders in this and other Matters could be adjusted at leifure, and concluded in a more lasting

and folemn one.

This interim Treaty, which was but for Four Years, expired in the Year 1691; fo that no new Treaty being made and finished during that Time, it is evident that only the ancient Treaty of Spire remains in Force, and no other.

The English Treaties with Denmark are grounded on those between the Dutch and that Kingdom, and have Reference to them; with a Covenant that we shall be treated tanquam gens amicissima; excepting always Sweden, whose Ships pay no Toll

at all.

So that at present both the English and Dutch have Occasion for new Treaties with Denmark in this and other Affairs of Trade, unless it be agreed by all Parties that the Treaty of Spire shall for so

much remain in Vigor hereafter.

From this short History of the Original of this Imposition it appears, how slightly grounded the King of Denmark's Title is to this Right of exacting the Toll of the Sound; which from an eafy Contribution which Merchants chose to pay for their own Convenience, and whereof the King of Denmark n

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ark was was only Treasurer or Trustee, to see it fairly laid out for the common Use, is grown to be a heavy Imposition upon Trade, as well as a kind of fervile Acknowledgment of his Sovereignty of those Seas; and is purely owing to his taking an Advantage of the Difficulties of the Hollanders during their Wars with Spain, and the Connivence of King James the First in prejudice of the English; who favoured the Danes upon account of his Marriage to a Daughter of that Crown; upon whose two Examples all the leffer States were forced to Nor can it be conceived how it could be otherwife brought about; fince it is very well known, that the Passage of the Sound is not the only one to the *Baltick* Sea, there being two others called the Greater and Lesser Belts; and that of the Greater Belt fo commodious and large, that during the late Wars the whole Dutch Fleet chose to pass through it, and continue in it for four or five Months together; and the Danish Strength at Sea never appeared yet fo formidable as to be able to oblige the English and Dutch to choose which Paffage it pleased. Besides, the Breadth of the Sound in the narrowest Part is four English Miles over, and every where of a fufficient Depth; fo that his Castles could not command the Channel when he was Mafter of both Sides; much lefs now that he has but one. So that it is plain, this pretended Sovereignty is very precarious, being partly founded on a Breach of Trust, as well as the Carelessness of some of the Princes concerned in it, to the great Injury of Trade: And the Spaniards may, with as much Right, lay claim to the Sovereignty of the Streights of Gibraltar, where there is but one Paffage; or the Swede, who is now Master of one of the Castles on the Sound, demand another Toll of D 4 all

all Ships; fince both are better able to support their Claims.

For the further clearing of this Point, and to fhew how it agrees with the Account I have already given, I have thought fit to infert in this Place the Copy of a Letter from a very understanding Person, March 31. 1691.

#### SIR,

THE Duties or Customs in the Sound were of old Times no more than a Rose Noble for each Ship, Lading included; but within these hundred Years, some say since King James of Scotland came to the Crown of England, and winked at it, the Kings of Denmark having the Lands on both Sides the Passage, began to impose Taxes on the Merchandise, and raise higher those which were formerly on the Ships; which the Lubeckers, who were then powerful, resused to pay.

Anno 1640 the King caused a Book of Rates to be printed, whereof I have one; according to which a Ship of 100 Lasts, or 200 Tuns, (which is the same thing) did pay as followeth: For 100 Last of Salt to the East 300 Rix-Dollars; for the Ship and petty Charges on the Salt 34 Rix-Dollars, 24 Stivers: and for 100 Last of Rye from the East 150 R.D. for Ship and petty Charges, as above, 34 R.D. 24 Stivers. So that the Charges of a Ship of this Burden, with its Lading forward and backward, was 519 Rix-Dollars.

Hereupon the Hollanders made an Alliance with the Swedes, who Anno 1643 by the way of Germany invaded Denmark, and the Dutch lent them Ships. Then the King prints another Book of Rates more favourable, demanding for 100 Last of Spanish Salt 100 Rix-Dollars, for 100 Last of Rye 75 R. D.

Ship's

Ship's Charges in and out, as above, 69 R. D. the whole amounting to 244 R.D. But this was neither done time enough, nor the Rates lowered enough. The Hollanders, by their Treaty with Denmark of 1646 or thereabouts, brought them thus: The 100 Last of Salt to 50 Rix-Dollars, 100 Last of Rye to 50 R. D. Ship's, and other petty Charges, nothing: in all for each Ship 100 Rix-Dollars. And by reason of this untimely beightening of their Customs it is, that the Kings of Denmark have lost so many Territories to the Swedes.

But to answer your Demand more fully, it was in those Days, that is, about the Year 1640, that the Customs of the Ore-Sound yielded per Ann. from 240000 Rix-Dollars to 300000 R. D. But since 1645 they have not at any time render'd above 150000 R. D. nor ever so much, except in time of War with the Swedes, when all did pay without Exemption. During the last War, I remember it yielded but 143000 Rix-Dollars; but before that War, and fince (the Swedish Ships freeing all Goods that are carried in them, and the Swedish Goods in Foreign Ships being also free by Treaty) it has not yielded above 80000 Rix-Dollars per Annum; and the last Year past it did not reach to full 70000 Rix-Dollars.

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The Court of Denmark is not to be blamed therefore for being wonderful jealous of any Infraction of this their pretended Sovereignty, as People are most careful and suspicious in behalf of an Estate wherein their Title is weak; it being so much the Interest not only of the English and Dutch, but also of the Swede, to have it fet right, both to encourage Trade to his own Country, and to lessen the Revenue of his Neighbour. Neither can it be faid, that the English and Dutch did ever intirely yield the Toll on Merchandise, yet no manner of searching or stopping is to be allowed, or has ever been. The Danes are now obliged to take the Master of the Vessel's Word for the Quality and Quantity of the Lading; and thought it Prudence never to press this Point surther, lest we should grow angry, and make too narrow an Inspection both into their original Right, and into their Ability to maintain it: For whilst we and the Dutch are content to pay this Toll, all the other petty Princes and States do it without Murmur; but if we once broke the Chain, they would shake off their Part of it likewise.

#### CHAP. IV.

Of the other Islands, and JUTLAND.

THE most considerable Islands next to that of Zealand, are, Funen, or Fionia, Laland, Langland, Falstria, Mune, Samsoe, Arroe, Bornbolm, and Amack; there are besides many other small ones of less Note.

Funen is second to Zealand, whether its Bigness or the Goodness of its Soil be considered. It has plenty of Corn, Hogs, Lakes, and Woods; the chief Town of it is Odensee, a well-seated, and formerly a flourishing little City, but at present much fallen to Decay. This Island produces nothing for the Merchant to export, except some few Horses, the Inhabitants usually consuming their own Commodities. This is a principal Government, called a Stifts Ampt. The present Governor is Mr. Winterselt.

Laland

Laland is a small, but plentiful Island, producing all forts of Corn in abundance, and particularly Wheat, wherewith it supplies the City of Copenbagen, and all other Parts of Denmark, where it is a Rarity. The Hollanders buy yearly, and ship off great Quantities of Corn from hence. This likewise is a Stists Ampt, having several of the lesser Islands under its Jurisdiction. The Governor of it is Mr. Geugh, who formerly had a Publick Character, and resided a long time in

England.

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Falstria, Langland, and Mune are fertile Islands: The two first export yearly some Corn. Arroe and Alsen abound in Anise-seeds, which are much used to season their Meat, and mix with their Bread. Bornbolm, Samfoe, with the other Islands, nourish Cattle, and afford Corn for the Use of the Inhabitants. But Amack deferves to be particularly remember'd: This little Island joins close to the City of Copenhagen, from which 'tis only separated by a small Arm of the Sea, which is passed over by a Draw-bridge, and exceeds in Fruitfulness any Spot of Ground in Denmark. Land was given many Years ago to feveral Families of North Hollanders, who were planted there to make Butter and Cheese for the Court; the Descendents of whom retain to this Day the Habit, Language, and Customs of their Predecesfors, together with their Cleanliness and Industry; neither will they mix with the Danes, but intermarry with each other. They had formerly extraordinary Privileges granted to them, whereof some continue to this Time, but others are retrenched; and by degrees it is to be feared they will be treated like the other Subjects.

This Island of Amack, through the Industry of these laborious People, is as it were the Kitchen-

Garden

Garden of Copenhagen, and supplies its Markets plentifully with all forts of Roots and Herbs; befides Butter, Milk, great Quantities of Corn, and fome Hay; whatever it produces being the best in its Kind that is to be found in the whole

Kingdom.

Jutland, part of the ancient Cimbrica Chersonesus, is the biggest Part of the Kingdom of Denmark, and may amount to about two Thirds of the Whole. It is divided into four Stifts Ampts, or principal Governments. The present Governors are the Count de Frize, the upper Mareschal Speckhan, Monsieur Edmund Schele, now Envoy Extraordinary to his Majesty from the King of

Denmark, &c.

This is a plentiful Country, abounding more especially in Cattle: It wants good Sea-ports towards the Ocean; notwithstanding which the Hollanders transport yearly great Quantities of lean Cows and Oxen from hence to their more fertile Soil; where in a short time they grow fo prodigiously fat, through better Feeding, in the rich Grounds of Holland, that a vast Profit is made by The Horses and Swine of this this Traffick. Country are excellent, and in great Numbers. It affords Corn in fufficient Quantity for the Use of its own People. The Land is more fertile near the Sea-Coasts; the Inland being full of Heaths, Lakes, and Woods. In fhort, it is the best Country the King of Denmark is Master of, and appears to be least declining, because most remote from Copenhagen. Procul à Jove, Procul à Fulmine. It being observed, that in limited Monarchies and Commonwealths, a Neighbourhood to the Seat of the Government is advantageous to the Subjects, whilft the distant Provinces are less thriving, and more liable to Oppression; but in Arbitrary and Tyrannical Kingdoms the quite contrary happens. CHAP.

#### CHAP. V.

Of the rest of the King of Denmark's Countries.

THE Dutchy of Slefwick is in general a very good Country; its convenient Situation between two Seas, the Ocean and the Baltick, rendering it confiderable for Trade, although the natural Commodities, fit for Exportation, are in no great Quantity. Some Corn, Cattle, Horses, and Wood for Firing it affords to its Neighbours, over and above a fufficient Store of each for its own Inhabitants. It is divided between the King and the Duke of Holftein. The principal Town which gives Name to the Dutchy belongs to the Duke of Holstein, who resides near it in his Palace of Gottorp, one of the most delicious Seats that is to be feen in all the Northern Parts of Europe. Nothing can be more pleasant and romantick than the Situation of this Castle. It stands in an Island, furrounded by a large Lake made by the River Sley, whose rising Banks are cloathed with fine Woods, the Waters clear and full of Fish, carry Vessels of small Burden to and from the Baltick Sea, into which it empties itself. The Gardens are large, with great Cost and Art cut out of the Declivity of a Hill on the other Side the Lake, and are as well disposed and laid out with Fountains, Parterres, Walks, and Water-works, as many of the most famous Villas in Italy. A noble large Park, or rather Forest, full of Deer, Wild-Boars, and all forts of Game, joins close to this Garden, cut through with pleasant Walks and Ridings. This

## An Account of DENMARK.

This Residence of the Duke of Holstein suffered much during the Misfortunes of its Mafter; many of the Improvements being not only fuffer'd to run to Ruin and Decay, but industriously, and as some fay, by order, pull'd down and deftroy'd; which at prefent, fince the Re-establishment of the Duke, are repairing and reftoring to their former Splen-Among feveral other Things of Value, none had better Luck than an admirable Library, being a choice Collection of Books which many Dukes of Holstein had of a long time been gathering; this escaped, and in the Year 1692 I saw it with the rest of the Rarities of this Place in a

good Condition, and tending to a better.

Holstein is divided among feveral of the Branches of that Family, all whose Descendents call themselves Dukes of Holstein; and according to the German Custom, as well younger Brothers as elder assume the Title and Quality of Princes: only the chief and estated Men of these several Branches, are diftinguish'd by the additional Title of the Place of their Residence; as the Duke of Holstein Ploen, Holftein Sunderburg, Holftein Norburg, &c. the Cadets of each contenting themselves with the bare Title of Princes, till they come to be Proprietors of Land, whose Denomination they may add to that of Duke. But the King of Denmark, (who is likewife Duke of Holftein) and the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, are possessed of the greatest Part of it, and both hold it as a Fief of the Empire.

Here, as well as in Slefwick, the Jurisdictions and Interests of these two Princes are very much intermixed; fo that the People scarce know whose Subjects to reckon themselves, since they often fwear Allegiance, and pay Tribute to both. fome Towns and Balliages both the King and Duke elect the Yearly Magistrates, and divide the Revenue; in others they do this by Turns. So that upon any Quarrel or Difference between these two Princes, the poor People are strangely divided, and in a most miserable Condition; their Inclination leading them to the Duke's Interest, who being the weaker, finds it his Advantage to use them better; but their Fear causing them to appear for the King as the stronger, though more

arbitrary.

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This Country is very fruitful and pleafant; excellently well feated for Trade, lying between the two Seas, and having the Advantage of the Neighbourhood of the River Elbe, and of Hamburg; which being a free City, and confequently a rich one, imparts a large Share of its Bleffings to the Territories of those Princes which lie any thing near it. This is apparent enough in the visible Prosperity of fuch Lands and People as are within a Day's Journey or more of that City, above fuch as lie remote from its Influence. The Inhabitants of Holstein use to brag that it resembles England in its Variety of Hills, Meadows, Woods, Rivers, and Corn-fields; as also that we are beholden to them and their Neighbourhood for our Original; the People of those Parts called Angles having planted, and at the same time given the Name of Anglia to our Island.

The Danes, when they travel abroad, choose to call themselves Holsteiners; thinking it more honourable to be born within the Confines of the

Empire, than otherwise.

Stormar and Ditmarsh lie the nearest to the River Elbe, and are for the most part low and rich Countries, the Soil being sat, and in most Places resembling Holland, as well in its Fertility as Manner of Improvement. These Countries enjoy also the Benefit of having Hamburg and the River

near them, with the additional Advantage of the Ocean; though it sometimes proves too trouble-some a Neighbour, and overflows great part of their lower Grounds, notwithstanding the Banks

and Digues that are raised to keep it out.

'Tis to be noted, as a great natural Defect, that the King of Denmark has not in all his Dominions one Navigable River for Veffels of any confiderable Burden (for I do not count the River Eyder as fuch) unless we reckon the Elbe, which is rather to be esteemed one of the Confines and Boundaries of his Territories, than any way belonging to him; yet he has often; and does even to this Day, endeavour to fet up and establish a Toll at Glucstadt; being not without Hopes, that taking the Advantage of the Necessity of the Empire, during this expensive War, he may engage it to confent to this Toll against all other Considerations: But the neighbouring Princes, the English and Dutch, and above all the City of Hamburg, will hardly be brought over to comply with an Innovation fo prejudicial to their Trade and Interests.

Oldenburg for the most part is a stat marish Country, much exposed to the Inundations of the Ocean; the Banks, which should keep it in its due Bounds, not being maintain'd in good Repair. It abounds in Cattle, and has a good Breed of Horses, which are much sought after for Coaches, by reason of their Colour, which is a yellowish Cream Colour. They are generally wall-eyed, and tender hoos'd, not able to last long, or endure hard Labour. The Town of Oldenburg is but a very indifferent one, and its Castle much out of Repair. Upon the Death of the late Prince Anthony, this County came to be annexed to the Crown of

Denmark.

Delmenborst is a more rising Ground, and pretty well wooded. Both these lie together, and the Inhabitants are used the more gently, by reason of their Distance from his other Territories.

Of Norway little can be faid, but that it is divided into two great Provinces, the Southern and Northern; whereof one small County, called Yempterland, formerly belonging to the King of Denmark, is now in the Possession of the Swedes. His High Excellency Guldenlieu (which is the Title usually given him by the Danes) is Vice-Roy, or, as they call him, Stadtholder of the whole. It is subdivided into four Stifts Ampts, or Principal Governments; viz. Drontbem, Bergen, Christiania, and Larwick. The Governors are young Guldenlieu, natural Son to the prefent King, and Monfieur Stocfleet, late Envoy extraordinary from Denmark to Sweden, &c. It is a very barren Country, affording neither Corn nor Cattle fufficient for the Subfiftence of its Inhabitants, although they be not numerous in Proportion to its vast Extent. There are Silver Mines in it, but whether the working of them turns to Account is a question. The Commodities which it yields fit for Exportation are Timber\* of all Kinds, especially Fir, Stockfish, Masts for Ships, and Iron; of these it has a tolerable Store; most of which the English and Dutch purchase yearly with ready Money: And herein Norway exceeds the other Dominions of the King of Denmark, that it affords Commodities for Exportation, which none of the rest do in any Quantity. The Inhabitants are a hardy, laborious, and honest Sort of People; they are esteem'd by others, and esteem themselves much superior to the Danes, whom they call upbraidingly Jutes.

<sup>•</sup> The Exportation of Oak-Timber is forbidden.

Iseland and Feroe are miserable Islands in the North Ocean. Corn will fcarce grow in either of them, but they have good Stocks of Cattle. Trade is permitted them but with the Danes. The Inhabitants are great Players at Chefs. It were worth fome curious Man's Enquiry how fuch a ftudious and difficult Game should get thus far North-

ward, and become fo generally used.

The King of Denmark's Factories in the East and West Indies, and in Guinea, are esteemed of very little Worth and Confideration; yet I have feen feveral East-India Ships return home to Copenhagen well laden with the Merchandise of those Countries; and there is an East-India Company lately fet up, whereof most of the Men of Quality are Members and Adventurers: But whether the Lading of those Ships I mentioned were the lawful Product of Trade, or acquired by other Means, will in time be worth the Inquiry of those Kingdoms and States whose Interest it is to preserve in the Indians and Perfians a good Opinion of the Honesty and fair Dealing of the Europeans.

And thus I have faid as much as I think requifite touching the Situation, Extent, and Qualities of the Lands and Dominions belonging to the King of *Denmark*; which amounts in general to this, that they are very large, disjoined, and intermixt, producing but a moderate Plenty of Necessaries for the Inhabitants, but few Commodities for the Merchant, and no Manufactures, if we except a little Iron. Whether these Defects, in Countries well fituated and indifferent fertile. be altogether natural, or partly accidental, will better appear when I treat of the Form of the Government, and the prefent Condition, Customs, and Manners of the Natives: But because these last do in a manner depend upon, and are influenced by the former, I shall chuse to begin with it.

CHAP.

### CHAP. VI.

# Of their Form of Government.

THE ancient Form of Government here was the fame which the Goths and Vandals established in most, if not all, Parts of Europe whither they carried their Conquests, and which in England is retained to this day for the most part.\* 'Tis faid of the Romans, That those Provinces which they conquer'd were amply recompenfed for the Lofs of their Liberty, by being reduced from their Barbarity to Civility, by the Introduction of Arts, Learning, Commerce, and Politeness. I know not whether this manner of Arguing hath not more of Pomp than Truth in it; but with much greater reason may it be faid, that all Europe was beholden to these People for introducing or reftoring a Constitution of Governs ment far excelling all others that we know of in the World. 'Tis to the ancient Inhabitants of these Countries, with other neighbouring Provinces, that we owe the Original of Parliaments, formerly fo common, but loft within this last Age in all Kingdoms but those of Poland, Great-Britain, and Ireland.

Denmark therefore was, till within these two and thirty Years, governed by a King chosen by

<sup>\*</sup> Furono veramente tutti i Rè da principio Capi e non Rè, di Republiche e non di Regni: ma poi il lungo uso hà fatto che i popoli si siano disposti, e avezzati all' habito dell'intiera ubbidienza; come apunto suole assuefarsi una pianta, e un corpo bumano, a vivere in terreno e sotto clima diverso dal suo naturale. Card. Bentivoglio. Relatione delle Provincie Unite di Fiandra. lib. III.

the People of all forts: Even the Boors had their Voices, which King Waldemar the Third acknowledged in that memorable Answer of his to the Pope's Nuncio, who pretended to a great Power over him: Naturam habemus à Deo, Regnum à subditis, Divitias à parentibus, Religionem à Romana Ecclesia; quam si nobis invides, renunciamus per præsentes. The Estates of the Realm being convened to that Intent, were to elect for their Prince fuch a Person as to them appeared Personable, Valiant, Just, Merciful, Affable, a Maintainer of the Laws, a Lover of the People, Prudent, and adorned with all other Virtues fit for Government, and requisite for the great Trust reposed in him; yet with due Regard had to the Family of the preceding Kings. If within that Line they found a Person thus qualified, or esteemed to be so, they thought it but a piece of just Gratitude to prefer him before any other to this high Dignity; and were pleafed when they had reason to chuse the eldest Son of their former King, rather than any of the younger, as well because they had regard to Priority of Birth, when all other Virtues were equal, as because the Greatness of his paternal Estate might put him above the Reach of Temptations to be covetous or dishonest, and inable him in some degree to support the Dignity of his Office. But if after fuch a Choice they found themselves mistaken, and that they had advanced a cruel, vitious, tyrannical, covetous, or wasteful Person, they frequently deposed him, oftentimes banished, sometimes destroyed him; and this either formally, by making him answer before the Representative Body of the People; or if by ill Practices, fuch as making of Parties, levying of Soldiers, con-

tracting of Alliances to support himself in oppo-

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stion to the People's Rights, he was grown too powerful to be legally contended with, they dispatched him, without any more Ceremony, the best way they could, and elected presently a better Man in his room; sometimes the next of kin to him; sometimes the valiant Man that had exposed himself so far as to undertake the Expulsion or the killing of the Tyrant; at other times a private Person of a good Reputation, who possi-

bly least dreamt of such an Advancement.

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Frequent Meetings of the Estates was a part of the very fundamental Constitution. In those Meetings all Matters relating to good Government were transacted; good Laws were enacted; all Affairs belonging to Peace or War, Alliances, Disposal of great Offices, Contracts of Marriages for the Royal Family, &c. were debated. imposing of Taxes, or demanding of Benevolences, was purely accidental; no constant Tribute being ever paid, nor any Money levied on the People, unless either to maintain a necessary War, with the Advice and Confent of the Nation, or now and then by way of Free-gift, to help to raise a Daughter's Portion; the King's ordinary Revenue at that Time confifting only in the Rents of his Lands and Demesnes, in his Herds of Cattle, Forests, Services of Tenants in manuring and cultivating his Grounds, &c. Customs upon Merchandise being an Imposition of late crept into this part of the World: So that he lived, like one of our modern Noblemen, upon the Revenues of his own Estate, and eat not through the Sweat of his Subjects Brows.

His Business was to see a due and impartial Administration of Justice executed according to the Laws; nay, often to sit and do it himself; to be watchful and vigilant for the Welfare of his

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People; to command in Person their Armies in time of War; to encourage Industry, Religion, Arts and Learning; and it was his Interest, as well as Duty, to keep fair with his Nobility and Gentry, and to be careful of the Plenty and Pro-

sperity of his Commons.

This was the antient Form of Government in this Kingdom, which continued with very little Variation (excepting that the Power of the Nobles increased too much) till about two and thirty Years ago, when, at one Instant, the whole Face of Affairs was changed: So that the Kings have ever fince been, and at prefent are, absolute and arbitrary, not the least Remnant of Liberty remaining to the Subject; all Meetings of the Estates in Parliament intirely abolished; nay, the very Name of Estates and Liberty quite forgotten, as if there never had been any fuch thing; the very first and principal Article in the present Danish Law being, That the King has the Privilege reserved to himself to explain the Law, nay, to alter and change it as he shall find good.

It is eafy for any confidering Person to guess the Consequences of this, which are frequent and arbitrary Taxes, and commonly very excessive ones, even in Times of Peace, little regard being had to the Occasion of them; so that the Value of Estates, in most Parts of the Kingdom, is fallen three Fourths. And it is worse near the capital City, under the Eye and Hand of the Government, than in remoter Provinces: Poverty in the Gentry, which necessarily causes Extremity of Misery in the Peasants; Partiality in the Distribution of Justice when Favourites are concerned; with many other Mischiess which shall be hereafter more particularly mentioned; being the con-

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stant Effects of arbitrary Rule in this and all

other Countries wherein it has prevailed.

And because it is astonishing to consider how a free and rich People (for so they were formerly) should be persuaded intirely to part with their Liberties, I thought it very proper to give an Account by what Steps so great a Change and Revolution was brought about: The Particulars of which I have received not only from Eyewitnesses, but also from some of the principal Promoters and Actors in it.

## CHAP. VII.

The Manner how the Kingdom of Denmark became Hereditary and Absolute.

tween the two Northern Crowns Anno 1660, some considerable Care and Time was necessary to redress the Disorders occasioned by so terrible a War. Denmark had been most violently shaken; and although the Fury of the Tempest was over, the Agitation caused by it still continued. The Army was not yet disbanded, nor could be for want of Money to discharge its Arrears. This caused frequent Insolences in the Soldiers, with a further Oppression of the Burghers and poor Country People, who had been in a manner already ruined by the Miseries attending the War. The Nobility, though Lords and Masters, were full of Discontents, and the Clergy not in the Condition they wished.

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To redress all which Grievances, and reduce Affairs into some Order, by procuring Money for the Payment and Difbanding of the Army, the King thought fit to appoint a Meeting of the Three Estates at Copenhagen, viz. the Nobility, Commonalty, and Clergy; which accordingly followed about the beginning of October that Year. After fome few Days Seffion (during which the Nobility, according to their usual Practice, debated how the Sums of Money requifite might, with greatest Ease and Conveniency, be levied upon the Commons, without the least Intention of bearing any proportionable Share themselves) feveral Disputes arose, and many sharp Expresfions passed between them and the Commons. On the one hand the Nobility were for maintaining their ancient Prerogative of paying nothing by way of Tax, but only by voluntary Contribution; and shewed themselves too stiff at a time when the Country was exhaufted, and most of the remaining Riches lodged in their Hands: They feemed to make use of this Occasion, not only to vindicate, but even to widen and enlarge their Privileges above the other two Estates, by laying Impositions on them at pleasure, which Weight they themselves would not touch with one of their Fingers, any farther than as they thought fitting. On the other hand, the Clergy for their late Adherence to the Interest of their Country, and the Burghers for their vigorous Defence of the City, thought they might justly pretend to new Merit, and be confidered at least as good Subjects in a State, which they themselves had so valiantly de-They remember'd the great Promifes made them when dangerous Enterprifes were to be taken in hand, and how fuccessfully they had executed them; thereby faving from a foreign

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Yoke, not only the City of Copenhagen, but the whole Kingdom, the Royal Family, nay, those very Nobles that now dealt fo hardly with them. They judged it therefore reasonable, that the Sums of Money necessary should be levied proportionably; and that the Nobility, who enjoyed all the Lands, should at least pay their Share of the Taxes, fince they had fuffered less in the common Calamity, as well as done less to prevent

the Progress of it.

This Manner of Arguing was very displeasing to the Nobles, and begat much Heat and many bitter Replies on both Sides: At length a principal Senator, called Otto Craeg, stood up, and, in great Anger, told the President of the City, That the Commons neither understood nor confidered the Privileges of the Nobility, who at all times had been exempted from Taxes; nor the true Condition of themselves, who were no other than Slaves [the Word in the Danish is unfree]; fo that their best way was to keep within their own Bounds, and acquiesce in such Measures as ancient Practice had warranted, and which they This Word Slaves were refolved to maintain. put all the Burghers and Clergy in Diforder, caufing a loud Murmur in the Hall; which Nanson, the President of the City of Copenhagen, and Speaker of the House of Commons, perceiving, and finding a fit Occasion of putting in practice a Design before concerted (though but weakly) between him and the Bishop, in great Choler rose out of his Seat, and swore an Oath, That the Commons were no Slaves, nor would from thenceforth be called so by the Nobility, which they should soon prove to their Cost: And thereupon breaking up the Affembly in Diforder, and departing out of the Hall, was followed by all the Clergy

## 34 An Account of DENMARK.

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Clergy and Burghers. The Nobles being left alone to confult among themselves at their leisure, after a little while adjourned to a private House near the Court. In the mean time the Commons, being provoked to the highest degree, and resolving to put their Threats in Execution, marched proceffionally by Couples, a Clergyman and a Commoner, from the great Hall, or Parliament-House, to the Brewers-Hall, which was the convenientest Place they could pitch upon to fit apart from the Nobles, the Bishop of Copenhagen and the Prefident of the City leading them. It was there thought necessary to consider speedily of the most effectual Means to suppress the intolerable Pride of the Nobility, and how to mend their own Condition. After many Debates they concluded, That they should immediately wait upon the King, and offer him their Votes and Affiftance to be absolute Monarch of the Realm, as also that the Crown should descend by Inheritance to his Family, which hitherto had gone by Election. They promifed themselves the King would have fo great Obligations to them for this piece of Service, that he would grant and confirm fuch Privileges as should put them above the degree of Slaves. They knew he had hitherto been curbed by the Nobility in a great measure; and now faw their own Force, being able (fince they had Arms in their Hands, and the Concurrence of the Soldiers) to perform what they undertook. At the worst, they supposed they should only change many Masters for one, and could better bear Hardships from a King than from inferior Persons. Or if their Case were not bettered, at least they thought it some Comfort to have more Company in it; besides the Satisfaction of Revenge on those that had hitherto not

only used them ill, but insulted over them so lately. They knew the King, and had feen him bear with an admirable Patience and Constancy all his Calamities; were perfuaded that he was a valiant Prince, who had often exposed his Person for the fake of the Publick, and therefore thought they could never do enough to shew their Gratitude; which is the usual Temper of the People upon any Benefit received from their Prince.

Scarce was this proposed but it was agreed to; and nothing but the Unfeafonableness of the Time (it being now near Night) deferred the immediate Execution of it; but all the necessary Meafures were taken against next Morning. The Clergy had a further Drift in this Change of Government; for having been hitherto kept under by the Nobility, they forecasted to have no other Superior but the King, whose new Authority they engaged to maintain by the Influence they had on the Consciences of the People; expecting with reason the like Favour and Protection from the King, together with an Increase of their Power, fince he was in a great measure obliged to them for his own; and the Benefits were likely to be mutual for the future, the one having the Force, the other the Tie of Religion in their Possession. Which Contract subsists to this very Day, to the great Advantage of both Sides.

The Court all this while was not ignorant of what passed; there wanted no Spies nor Messengers to give notice of the Discontents of the Commons. Hannibal Seeftede, a cunning Man, was prime Minister; and the Bishop or Superintendent Swan, with Nanson the Speaker of the House of Commons, were his Creatures. These had formerly in fecret laid with him the Defign, which was now upon the point of disclosing; though

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their Hopes were hardly raifed fo high, as to promife themselves such mighty Success. The whole Night passed in Brigues and Messages; the Commons Anger was to be kept up to the requifite Height, and the Resolution they had taken the Night before not to be fuffered to cool, but perfifted in betimes next Morning. The Queen, a Woman of Intrigue and high Spirit, wrought strongly in it by all manner of Ways; whilst the King, either through doubt of the Event, or fense of the Dishonesty and Crime of the Action, in procuring, after fuch a Manner, the abfolute Dominion of a free Country, could hardly be brought to comply with it. He declared that indeed he should be pleased the Sovereignty were entailed on his Family, provided it were done by univerfal Confent; but to become absolute and arbitrary, was neither his Defire, nor did he think it for the Benefit of the Kingdom; that he was fatisfied he should not make ill use of such an unlimited Authority, but no body knew what Successfors he might have; that it was therefore dangerous both for them to give, and for him to receive, fuch a Power as might be abused in future Times to the utter Ruin of the Nation. But these Resections, whether they were real, or only Pretences, whether caused by the Piety or Weakness of the King, were soon over-ruled by the more ambitious and masculine Spirit of the Queen, who defired him to fit still, and fee how she and her Emissaries would work for him; told him, That the Plot was well laid, and had begun to operate prosperously; that he must not obstruct his own and his Family's good Fortune; and, in fine, fo far prevailed on him, that he feemed with Fear to confent to, and permit that which most think he very much defired: Having how-

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ever, by this Shew of Unwillingness, left open to himself a Door of Reconciliation with his Peo-

ple in case the Business did not succeed.

All this while the Nobles either had none, or but small Intimation of the Designs of the Commons; they had been used so long to slight and tyrannize over them, that they were not now fenfible of any impending Danger from thence, contemning their Threats as well as their Persons, and imagining they would have repented next Day, and complied with all that should be demanded of them: But the Plot was deeper laid than they supposed; for not only the prime Minister, but some other Members of their own Body, who had Employments depending on the Court, were engaged in it. This Inadvertency, with the want of requifite Courage upon occasion, brought upon them the Mischief on a sudden; so that except two or three, who were more than ordinary doubtful of what might happen, and flipt out of Town that Night, the rest were altogether fearless of Danger, till the very Instant that the Evil was remedilefs.

Schack, the Governor of the Town, had been gained by the Court to favour the Defign, which he performed effectually, though not with fo fervile an Intention as others; for when the King, upon the first News of the Resolution of the Commons, did often openly promise that he would in Gratitude and Recompense declare them all free as soon as it lay in his Power, by the Gift they were about to make him; and the People were willing to trust the King's Goodness, and to depend on the Performance of this Promise, encouraged thereunto by the Clergy, who alledged it a thing unbeseeming and dishonourable to require any other Security from the King than his

late, repented of.

Next Morning the Nobles met in the Council-House, and the other two Estates in the Brewers-Hall. The Refolution of the Commons could not be kept fo fecret, but by this time fome warm Rumours of it had reached the Nobility; but fcarce had they leifure to confider what was fitteft to be done on that Occasion, when they were informed that the Commons were marching towards them: For the Bishop and the President had so well performed their Parts, and urged the Neceffity of speedily executing what had been refolved the Day before, that all Time was judged loft which was not employed in putting it in pra-Etice: They immediately agreed to go to the Council-House, and there propound to the Nobility their Defign, defiring their Concurrence in fuch a necessary Work for the Welfare of the Kingdom. They marched through the Streets with great Gravity and Silence, by Couples, as before; whilst the Mob, by repeated Shouts, applauded what they were going to do. And thus they came to the House where the Nobles were affembled, who had fcarce Warning fufficient to receive them.

The Prefident Nanson made a short Harangue, setting forth that they had considered the State of

the Nation, and that they found the only Remedy for the many Diforders which afflicted it, was to make the Crown hereditary, and to give more Power to the King than hitherto he had enjoyed; that this Refolution was already taken by the Commons and Clergy, in which if the Nobility should think fitting to concur, they were ready to accompany them to the King, and make him a Tender of an hereditary and fovereign Dominion; if not, that they were going themselves, and the Matter should be done without them: That a fpeedy Resolution was necessary, for they had already fent Word to the Court of their coming, and his Majesty expected them in the Hall of his Palace; therefore defired to be informed in few Words what they refolved to do.

The Suddenness of such a Proposition, and Briskness in the Manner of its Delivery, caused a general Aftonishment in the Nobles; one might have feen those who but the Day before carried it fo proudly, in an Instant sall to an Excess of Complacency, and betray their Fear by their Speeches and Countenances, as they formerly had done their Arrogance. The Mischief no fooner appeared to them, but they faw it was unavoidable; there was no Leisure allowed them to confult; and to deny their Compliance, or even to delay it, was dangerous. To give up at once their beloved Power, and submit their Necks to a heavy Yoke, was an intolerable Grievance: But they faw they were no longer the Masters; the Commons were armed, the Army and Clergy against them; and they found now too late, that that which the Day before they had confidered only as the Effort of an unconstant giddy Multitude, was guided by wifer Heads, and supported by Encouragements from Court;

nay possibly by some of their own Body: They suspected each other, and no Man knew whether his next Neighbour was not in the Plot against the publick Liberty. It is eafy to imagine what diffracted Thoughts afflicted them on a fudden; they were altogether unprepared for such a dismal Stroke: But some Answer must be given, and that speedily. Such a one as they had a Mind to give, they durst not; for they were affembled in a fortified Town, remote from their feveral Countries and Interests (where they had governed like fo many Princes,) in the Power of those who could, and certainly would be revenged in case they proved refractory. The best Way therefore was, to feem to approve of what they could not hinder. They answer, That the Proposition made to them by the Commons was not displeasing, but the Manner of it wanted the requisite Formalities; that previous Deliberation was necessary to an Affair of fo great Moment; that they could not but take it ill, a Refolution of fuch Confequence should be concluded on by the Commons without the least acquainting of the Nobility with it, who were the chief Estate of the Realm: That they also aspired to the Honour of bearing their Part in bestowing such a material Gift on the King and his Posterity, but defired that the Matter might be proceeded on with that Gravity, and Solemnity, which the Nature of it required: That it was not fit fuch a weighty Transaction should have the Appearance of a Tumult, and feem forced rather than a free Choice. The Conclusion of all was, That they hoped the Commons would a little defer the putting in Execution their Defign; and in the mean time confult with them, till the Affair were done orderly, and with unanimous Approbation, as well as to mutual Advantage.

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This was with great Vehemency by the President denied. He replied, These were Shifts only to gain Time, that the Nobles might be in a Condition to frustrate the Intention of the Commons; that the Point was already agreed, and the Resolution taken; that they came not thither to consider, but to act; if the Nobles would join with them, they were ready; if not, they would do what was to be done alone; and doubted not but his Majesty would make his Use of it.

During these Disputes the Nobility had privily fent fome of their Body to Court to acquaint the King, that the Commons were now at their House, and had made them sudden Proposals. out of Form, but fuch as they should rather concur with, than be averse to; that they were ready to join with them in offering an hereditary Crown to his Majesty, and the Heirs Males of his Family for ever; which they hoped his Majesty would accept in good part: But defired to proceed in the ufual Methods, which fuch weighty Affairs merited, viz. by Conferences and Deliberations, that it might appear rather an Effect of their just Sentiments of his Majesty's Valour and Conduct, than the fudden Motions of a tumultuous Assembly.

The King, with a great deal of Mildness, as if he had been wholly unconcerned and passive in the Case, replied; That he was obliged to them for their Designs in favour of Him, and the Royal Family; that he hoped what they were about would tend to the Benefit of the Nation; but that a Crown intailed only on the Heirs Males could not be so acceptable to him, as if it were given without that Limitation; that the Government of Females had neither been a new thing at home, nor unprosperous in neighbouring Countries:

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That they might confider of it, and fince it was their Gift, he would not prescribe; but it could not be accepted by him unless it were more general.

In the mean time the Commons grew impatient, the Answer given them was not satisfactory, and the Nobles had not yet refolved on an entire Compliance, nor were ready to accompany them, because they had not yet an Account of the Success of their Members sent to sound the Mind of The Clergy and Burghers therefore, the Court. led on by their Bishop and President, proceed without them to the Palace, and were met by the prime Minister, and conducted by him to the Hall of Audience, whither after some short Time the King came to them. The Bishop makes a long Speech, fetting forth the Praises of his Majesty, and the Cause of their waiting on him; concluding with an Offer, in the Name of themfelves, the two most numerous, and if he pleased most powerful Estates, of an hereditary and absolute Dominion; together with the Affistance of their Hands and Purses, in case any body should go about to obstruct fo necessary and laudable a Defign for the Good of the Country. The King told them in short, That he thanked them; and in case an universal Consent established this good Defire of theirs, he would accept the Prefent they made him; but that the Concurrence of the Nobles was necessary; which he doubted not of in the leaft, when they had time to make the Offer with the necessary Formalities: That he affured the Commons of his Royal Protection, and should not be unmindful of their Kindness, by easing them of their Grievances, and by encouraging Subjects who had behaved themselves so valiantly, and deferved fo well from him: Concluding with

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his Advice to them, to continue their Session till fuch time as Matters were brought to Perfection, and he could receive their Gift with the Solemnity that was fitting: And thereupon dismissed them.

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But the Nobles were all this while in a grievous Distraction; they faw the Commons were gone to the King without them: Their Meffengers brought News back that their Proposition of intailing the Crown on the Heirs Males was not pleafing, because a greater Advantage was in prospect; that this Offer was looked upon to proceed from Persons that would not have bestowed any thing, if they could have helped it; that it was thought they pretended to merit in giving only a Part, when it was not in their Power to hinder the taking the Whole. In this Irrefolution they broke up; and fince they were to meet again at Noon upon another folemn Occasion, they resolved at that time to confider how to proceed in an Affair fo delicate.

Monfieur Schele a Senator, and principal Man of the Country, was that Afternoon to be buried in great Pomp; his Body had lain fome Months in State, and according to the Custom, was to be accompanied to its Interment by all the Nobility then in Town. This being a Parliament Time was chosen for the Ceremony, because the Nobles were all together; and a magnificent Dinner was prepared, as is usual on the like Occasions. the Height of their Entertainment an Officer comes into the Room, and whispers some of the principal Men, that the City Gates were shut, and the Keys carried to Court: For the King having been informed by the Governor, that two or three had privily flipt out of Town the Night before, and being refolved that no more should escape out of the Net, till he had done his Business, had ordered F 2

ordered the Governor that Morning to lock the Gates, and to let no Person in or out without fpecial Order. The Governor fent one Bill, the Town Major, to put this in Execution; who as foon as he had done it, came to the House where they were met, and fat down at Table among the This difmal News of the Officer was Senators. prefently whifpered round the Company; who immediately applied themselves to him to know what the Meaning was of fuch an unufual Proceeding at the Time of a general Convention: They asked him what Destiny was appointed them, whether they were there to be maffacred, or what elfe was to be done with them? The Town Major calmly answered, That he believed there was no Danger towards them; that fuch violent Measures would not be taken by so gracious a King; though he had indeed given the Orders himself for the shutting the Gates; and that no body was to stir out of Town without Leave; but that this needed not diffurb or hinder them from finishing the Work of the Day, and pursuing the publick, as well as their private Occasions. There wanted no more than this Confirmation from the Officer, to overthrow all the Refolution and Confultations of the Nobles; the Dread of lofing their Lives took away all Thoughts of their Liberty. They immediately dispatched Messengers both to the Court and the Commons, to give Notice of their Disposition to comply with what was formerly proposed; affuring them likewise, that they were ready to agree to all that should be asked of them.

But the King, who had begun and played his Game so well hitherto, determined to pursue it to the utmost, and would not suffer the Gates to be opened, till the whole Ceremony of the Inaugura-

tion was concluded, and the Homage done in due Form; and therefore ordered they should stay, till in the Face of the People, and the Army, they had sworn Fealty, and divested themselves of all Right, as well as Power, to cause any

Disturbance or Alteration for the future.

Three Days time was requifite to prepare Matters for that fatal Hour, wherein they were to make a formal Surrender of their Liberty; the Scaffolds were raifed in the Place before the Caftle, and adorned with Tapestry; Orders were given for the Soldiery and Burghers to appear in Arms under their respective Officers: And when all Things were ready, on the 16th of October 1660, in the Morning, the King, Queen, and Royal Family, mounted on a Theatre erected for that Purpose, and being placed in Chairs of State under Canopies of Velvet, received publickly the Homage of all the Senators, Nobility, Clergy, and Commons; which was performed kneeling. Oath, which they were obliged to take, was in these Words.

I A. B. do promise, and declare, that I will be true and faithful to Your Majesty, as my most Gracious King and Lord, as also to Your Royal Family; that I will endeavour and promote Your Majesty's Interest in all Things, and to the best of my Power defend you from all Danger and Harm; and that I will faithfully serve Your Majesty as a Man of Honour and an hereditary Subject ought to do. So belp me God, &c.

This Oath they were all obliged to pronounce aloud, and some Men of Quality that were sick, or pretended to be so, were brought in Chairs; among others one Gersdorf, a principal Senator, who was the only Man that opened his Mouth

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in the behalf of their expiring Liberties, faying, That he hoped, and trusted, that his Majesty defigned nothing but the Good of his People, and not to govern them after the Turkish Manner; but wished his Majesty's Successors might follow the Example, which his Majesty would undoubtedly fet them, and make use of that unlimited Power for the Good, and not the Harm of his Subjects. Not one of the rest spoke a Word, or seemed to murmur in the least at what was done; and it is observable, that among so many great Men, who a few Days before feemed to have Spirits fuitable to their Birth and Qualities, none had the Courage during those three last Days, either by Remonstrance, or any other way, to oppose in any Manner what was doing. And I have heard very intelligent Persons, who were at that Time near the King, affirm, That had the Nobles shewed ever so little Courage in afferting their Privileges, the King would not have purfued his Point fo far as to defire an Arbitrary Dominion: For he was in continual Doubt and Dread of the Event, and began to waver very much in his Resolutions; so that their Liberties seem purely loft for want of some to appear for them.

From the Theatre, those that had done Homage went to the Council-House; where the Nobles were called over by Name, and ordered to subscribe the above-mentioned Declaration;

which they all did.

Thus this great Affair was finished, and the Kingdom of *Denmark* in four Days time changed, from an Estate little differing from Aristocracy, to as absolute a Monarchy as any is at present in the World. The Commons have since experienced, that the little Finger of an absolute Prince can be heavier than the Loins of many Nobles:

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The only Comfort they have left them being to to fee their former Oppressors in almost as miserable a Condition as themselves; whilst all the Citizens of Copenbagen have by it obtained the insignificant Privilege of wearing Swords: So that at this Day not a Cobler or Barber stirs abroad without a Tilter at his Side, let his Purse be never so empty. The Clergy, who always make sure Bargains, were the only Gainers in this Point; and are still much encouraged by the Court, as the Instruments that first promoted, and now keep the People in a due Temper of Slavery; the Passive Obedience Principle riding triumphant in this unhappy Kingdom.

It was but Justice, that the Court should pay well the principal Contrivers of this great Revolution; and therefore notwithstanding the general Want of Money, Hannibal Seestede had a Present of 200000 Crowns: Swan the Superintendent, or Bishop, was made Archbishop, and had 30000 Crowns: The President or Speaker Nanson 20000 Crowns. And to the People remained the Glory of having forged their own Chains, and the Advantage of obeying without Reserve: A Happiness which I suppose no Englishman will ever envy them.

#### CHAP. VIII.

The Condition, Customs, and Temper of the People.

A LL these do so necessarily depend upon, and are influenced by the Nature and Change of Government, that 'tis easily imagined, the present Condition of these People of all Ranks must F 4 be

be most deplorable; at least it appears so to an Englishman, who sees it, possibly more than to them that fuffer it: For Slavery, like a fickly Constitution, grows in time fo habitual, that it feems no Burden nor Disease; it creates a kind of Laziness, and idle Despondency, which puts Men beyond Hopes and Fears: It mortifies Ambition, Emulation, and other troublesome as well as active Qualities, which Liberty and Freedom beget; and instead of them affords only a dull kind of Pleafure of being careless and infenfible.

In former Times, and even till the late Alteration in the Government, the Nobility or Gentry (for they are here the fame thing) lived in great Affluence and Prosperity; their Country Seats were large and magnificent, their Hospitality extraordinary, because their Plenty was so too: They lived for the most part at home, and spent their Revenues among their Neighbours and Tenants, by whom they were confidered and respected as so many petty Princes. In times of Convention of the Estates, which ordinarily happened once a Year, they met their King with Retinues almost as large as his; they frequently eat and drank at the fame Table with him; and in the Debate of Publick Affairs, their Suffrages were of greatest Weight, and usually carried the Point: For the Commons were willing in a great measure to be directed by them, because they much depended on them. In process of Time this Excess of Power, as you have heard, made most of them grow infolent, which was the chief Occasion of their Fall, together with the Loss of the Liberties of the whole Country. So that now they are funk to a very low Condition, and diminish daily both in Number and Credit:

Credit; their Estates scarce paying the Taxes imposed on them: Which makes them grind the Faces of their poor Tenants, to get an Overplus for their own Subfistence. Nay, I have been affured by fome Gentlemen of good Repute, who formerly were Masters of great Estates, that they have offered to make an absolute Surrender to the King of large Possessions in the Island of Zealand, rather than pay the Taxes; which Offer, though pressed with Earnestness, would by no means be accepted. And upon my further Enquiry into the Reason of it, I have been informed, that Estates belonging to those Gentlemen who made this Offer, lying in other Places, which had the good Fortune to be taxed less than the full Value of the Income, were liable to pay the Taxes of any other Estate appertaining to the same Perfon, in case that other Estate were not able; so that fome have been feen with a great deal of Joy, declaring that the King had been fo gracious as to take their Estates from them.

Through these, and several other Means, many of the ancient Families are fallen to decay; their Country Habitations, which were like Palaces, being ruinous, they are forced to live meanly and obscurely in some Corner of them: Unless it be their good Fortune to procure an Employment, Civil or Military, at Court, which is the Thing they are most ambitious of; it being indeed necessary to secure to their Families any tolerable Subfiftence, or to afford them some Shelter from the Exactions and Injustices of the Collectors. The Civil Employments are in no great Number, nor of great Value; as they feldom are in a poor Country governed by an Army; fo that few are provided for this Way: The greatest Part patiently enduring their Poverty at home; where, in a short Time, their Spirits, as well as their Estates, grow so mean, that you would scarce believe them to be Gentlemen, either

by Discourse or Garb.

Ancient Riches and Valour were the only Title to Nobility formerly in this Country; the Nobles and Gentry being, as I faid before, the fame thing. None took either their Degree, or Patents of Honour from the King: But of late Years, to supply the Want of Riches, some few Titles of Baron or Count, and nothing higher, have been given to Favourites; who enjoy not the fame Privileges by those Titles, as our Lords in England do, but content themselves with a few airy infignificant ones, which diffinguish them from the common People. There are not many, even of this kind of Nobility; I believe fifteen or twenty are the most; these are fuch, who are most easy in their Fortunes, and are obliged (that they may preferve them) to keep in with the Court by all manner of ways; as indeed all are, who have a mind to live and eat Bread.

'Tis only this kind of Nobility with Titles, that have Liberty to make a Will or Testament, and thereby to dispose of any Estate otherwise than as the Law has already determined that it shall fall of course: Unless such Will be, during the Lise of the Testator, approved of and signed by the King; and then it shall be of sorce, and valid.

'Tis almost needless to mention that there is no buying or selling of Land here; for where an Estate is a Charge, there will be sew Buyers. Neither do I remember any one Alienation of Lands for Money, during all the Time I stayed in that Country, except some Estates which the Queen purchased; where she paid after the Rate

of 16000 Crowns for that which thirty Years ago was valued at 60000 Crowns. There were indeed fome Persons, who took Lands from the King in lieu of Money, which they had lent the Crown; and among these I remember to have heard of two, Monsieur Texera a rich Jew of Hamburg, and Monsieur Marseilles a Dutch Merchant, who was formerly established at Copen-These were forced to take Lands, or nothing, for their Debts, which amounted to fome hundred thousands of Crowns; yet did these Lands yield them fo little Income, by reason of the Taxes imposed on them, though they were vast Tracts of fertile Ground, that they would willingly have parted with them (as I was informed) for one fifth Part of their Principal.

However, in case it should happen that one who has a mind to transplant himself to another Place, could find a Purchaser for his Estate, the Law is, That one third Part of such Purchase-Money shall accrue to the King; and indeed if there were not such a severe Law against Alienations, it is possible most of the present Possessors would quit the Country the first Opportunity.

The King assumes to himself the Power of disposing of all Heirs and Heiresses of any Consideration, as it is practised in *France*: Not that there is any Law for it, but upon pain of his Displeasure; which here is too weighty to be born.

Military Employments are mightily coveted by the native Gentry, almost as much as the Civil; and purely for the same Reason that the Priest's Office was among the fews, viz. That they may eat a Piece of Bread. For it is a sure Way to find Soldiers (as long as there are Men in a Kingdom) to imitate the French King's Practice in this Particular! Make the Gentry poor, and render Traffick unprofitable or dishonourable;

Men

upon the other.

Yet in Denmark the Natives are confidered much less than Strangers, and are more out of the Road of Preferment; whether it be that the Court can better trust Strangers, whose Fortunes they make, than the Posterity of such whose Fortunes they have ruined; or whether they think their very Parts and Courage to be diminished in Proportion to their Estates and Liberty, (which appears to be plainly the Cafe of their common People) or for what other Reason; certain it is, that all Sorts of Places, Civil and Military, are filled more by Foreigners than Gentlemen of the Country: And in their Disposal of Offices it is remarkable, that fuch as are of ordinary Birth and Fortunes, are much fooner preferred than those of contrary Qualities: So that here may be found feveral in the most profitable and honourable Employments, who have formerly been Serving-men, and fuch like; and these prove the best Executors of the Will and Pleasure of Arbitrary Power, and therefore are careffed accordingly. one further Advantage in the Promotion of these kind of Men; that after they are grown rich by Extortion, and have sucked the Blood of the Poor, when Clamours grow loud against them, the Court can with Ease squeeze these Leaches, laying all the Blame of its own Oppression at their Doors; and this without the Danger of caufing the Difcontent of any of the Nobles, upon the Score of Kindred or Alliance.

The Difficulty of procuring a comfortable Subfiftence, and the little Security of enjoying what shall be acquired through Industry, is a great Cause Cause of Prodigality, not only in the Gentry, whose Condition is more easy, but also in the very Burghers and Peafants: They are fenfible that they live but from Hand to Mouth, and therefore as foon as they get a little Money they fpend it. They live to-day, as the Poet advises, not knowing but what they now have may be taken from them to-morrow. And therefore Expenfiveness in Coaches, Retinue, Clothes, &c. is no where more common, nor more extravagant in Proportion to their Income, than in this Country. Parfimony is often, not only a Caufe, but a Sign of Riches; the more a wealthy Man has, the more he endeavours to acquire, and to increase his Stock: But here the Courtier buys no Land, but remits his Money to the Bank of Amsterdam or of Hamburg; the Gentleman spends presently on himself and his Pleasures all that he can get, for fear he should have the Reputation of being rich, and his Money be taken from him by Taxes, before he has eaten or drank for it; the Merchant and Burgher do the like, and fubfift purely upon Credit; there being very few of this Sort in the King's Dominions that can be called rich, or worth 100000 Rix-Dollars. The Peafant or Boor, as foon as he gets a Rix-Dollar, lays it out in Brandy with all hafte, left his Landlord, whose Slave he is, should hear of it, and take it from him. Thus,

Torva leæna lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam.

The Trading Towns and Villages, (if we except Copenhagen, whose Situation and Haven make it thrive a little in spight of ill Usage) are all fallen to Decay. Those Boroughs which formerly lent good Sums of Money to the Prince upon

upon extraordinary publick Occasions, and furnished the Hollanders yearly with ten or twelve great Fly-boats Lading of Corn, being now not in a Condition to raise 100 Rix-Dollars, or to lade one small Ship of Rye; as may be instanced in Kiog, once a flourishing little Sea-port Town, twenty Miles from Copenhagen, which in King Christian the Fourth's Time raised for that King's Service, in four and twenty Hours time, 200000 Rix-Dollars; yet upon occasion of the last Poll-Tax, I heard that the Collectors were forced to take from this and other Towns (in lieu of Money) old Feather-beds, Bedsteads, Brass, Pewter, Wooden Chairs, &c. which they violently took from the poor People, who were unable to pay, leaving them destitute of all manner of Neceffaries for the use of Living.

Some Manufactures have been endeavoured to be introduced, not fo much with a Defign of benefiting the Publick, as private Courtiers, and great Men who were the Undertakers, and expected to profit thereby; particularly that of Silks and Drinking-glasses: But in a little time all came to nothing; it being a very fure Rule, that Trade will not be forced in a Place where real Encouragements and Advantages are not to be found, and where Property is not secured; the very Credit of the Subject being as slender as his

Riches are uncertain.

If this be the Case of the Gentleman and Burgher, what can be expected to be that of the poor Peafant or Boor? In Zealand they are all as absolute Slaves as the Negroes are in Barbadoes, but with this Difference, that their Fare is not fo good. Neither they, nor their Posterity, to all Generations, can leave the Land to which they belong; the Gentlemen counting their Riches by their

Stocks

Stocks of Boors, as here with us by our Stocks of Cattle; and the more they have of thefe, the richer they are. In case of Purchase, they are fold as belonging to the Freehold, just as Timber-Trees are with us. There is no computing there by numbers of Acres, but by numbers of Boors, who, with all that belongs to them, appertain to the Proprietor of the Land. Yeomanry, which is the Strength of England, is a State not known or heard of in *Denmark*; but these poor Drudges, after they have laboured with all their Might to raife the King's Taxes, must pay the Overplus of the Profit of the Lands, and their own Toil, to their Landlords, who are almost as poor as them-If any of these Wretches prove to be of felves. a diligent and improving Temper, who endeavours to live a little better than his Fellows, and to that End has repaired his Farm-house, making it convenient, neat, or pleafant; it is forty to one but he is prefently transplanted from thence to a naked and uncomfortable Habitation, to the end that his griping Landlord may get more Rent, by placing another on the Land that is thus improved: So that in fome Years 'tis likely there will be few or no Farm-houses, when those already built are fallen through Age or Neglect.

Another Grievance is, the quartering and paying of the Soldiers. Those that know what a vexatious Thing it is (over and above the Charge) to be constantly plagued with insolent \* Inmates, who lord it where-ever they dwell, will soon allow this to be a Mischief scarce supportable.

And

<sup>\*</sup> This was once known in England, when the Lord Dane or Danish Soldier quartered in the English Yeoman's House, and domineer'd to purpose: Whence came the Nick-name of Lazy Lordane.

And although this Country have a Tendency to be extremely populous, the Women being exceeding fruitful, which is fufficiently proved by the vast Swarms that in former Ages, from these Northern Parts, over-ran all Europe; yet at prefent it is but competently peopled; Vexation of Spirit, ill Diet, and Poverty, being great Obstructions to Procreation. Within Man's Memory the Peafants lived very happily; there was fcarce any Family of them that was not Owner of a large Piece of Plate or two, besides Silver Spoons, Gold Rings, and other odd Knacks, which they are fond of to this Day, (and whenever they have any Money, will lay it out in fuch-like things, because they dare not trust themselves with the keeping of Money, the Inclination to spend it presently is fo general:) but now it is a great Rarity to find in a Boor's House any thing made of Silver, or indeed any other Utensil of Value, unless it be Feather-beds, whereof there are better, and in greater Plenty, than in any Place I ever faw; and which are made use of, not only to lie upon, but also to cover with instead of Blankets.

Among all the Hardships which are imposed on these poor Peasants, that which seemed to me one of the greatest was, the Obligation they lie under to surnish the King, Royal Family, and all their Attendants, their Baggage and Furniture, with Horses, and travelling Waggons, whensoever he makes any Progress (which he often does either to Jutland or Holstein) or takes any lesser Journey in Zealand; nay, although it be only to his Country-Houses of Fredericksburg and Tagersburg. In these Cases all the Peasants that lie near the Road, or in that District, are summoned to attend with their Horses and Waggons at certain Stages, where they are to relieve each other; and this

proceeding

this they often do, always at their own Charges for Man's and Horse Meat, for two or three Days together, no Regard being had to the Seafon of Harvest, (which is the usual travelling time) or to any other Conveniency of these poor Wretches. I have frequently feen them with hundreds of Waggons in a Company, attending the Arrival of the Court, bewailing their fad Condition; and as foon as the King came up, and his Coaches, with those of the other Persons of Quality, were fitted with fix or eight Boors Horses each, (for they are little bigger than Calves) then every Lacquey feizes on his Boor and Waggon, for his own proper Use; at which Time, unless his Pleasure be in all things complied with, the poor trembling Peasant (who drives on, and takes all patiently, without replying one Word) is fo beaten and abused, that it has often moved my Pity and Indignation to fee it. Neither is it only when the King himself travels, that the Boors are put to this Trouble; but whenever he pleases to give his Warrant to any Person of Quality, or Officer, that has a Journey to make, they are obliged to this Service and Attendance.

Apoplexies and the Falling-Sickness are the Epidemical Diftempers here; one shall hardly pass through the Streets of Copenhagen, without feeing one or two poor Creatures groveling on the Ground in a Fit, and foaming at the Mouth, with a Circle of Gazers and Affiftants about them. I know not what to impute this to, unless to the ill Diet of the common Sort, which is generally Salt-meats, Stock-fish, and such like. Apoplexies, among the better Sort, often proceed either from excessive Drinking, or from Discontent; it being very usual here to have them die of a Slacht, as they call it, which is an Apoplexy

proceeding from Discontent and Trouble of Mind. But by way of amends for these ugly Distempers, there are few or none that are troubled with Coughs, Catarrhs, Confumptions, or fuch like Difeases of the Lungs; fo that in the midst of Winter in the Churches, which are very much frequented, there is no Noise to interrupt the Attention due to the Preacher. I am perfuaded their warm Stoves, with the Plenty and Pureness of their Firing, (which is Beech-wood) contributes as much to their Freedom from these kinds of Maladies, as the Groffness and Unwholsomness of our Coals in London does to our being fo univerfally troubled with them; notwithstanding the ingenious Sir William Petty be of another Opinion: for in all other Respects of Air and Situation, we have

much the Advantage of them.

The Tables of the better Sort are usually well furnished with Dishes; yet I cannot commend the Cheer, because the Flesh is generally lean, and (except the Beef and Veal) ill-tafted, especially the tame Fowl, the fattening of which is an Art not known by above two or three, who have been taught it by an English Poulterer, lately set up at Copenhagen. Wether Mutton is very scarce, and feldom good: Wild Ducks hardly to be eaten; and Plovers never. Here are no wild Pheafants, Woodcocks, Rabbits, or Fallow Deer. Red Deer there are, but they are the King's Game, and not to be bought for Money. The Hares are good, and the Bacon is excellent. Now and then you meet with a Chevreuil, or small Roe-Buck, in the Market, but it is generally lean. Sea-fish is scarce, and not good; but the River-fish makes amends, here being the best Carp, Perch, and Craw-fish, that are to be found any where. One cannot expect extraordinary Fruits thus far North;

North; yet the Gentry do not want such as are very tolerable, being extremely addicted to Gardening; and several of the Nobility being so curious, as to have Melons, Grapes, Peaches, and all sorts of Sallads very early, and in great Perfection. The Butter is very good, but the Cheese stark naught. In general, their way of Cookery would hardly be pleasing to an Englishman.

They are much addicted to drinking; the Liquors that are most in vogue with Persons of Condition, are Rhenish Wine, Cherry Brandy, and all sorts of French Wine. The Men are fond of them, and the sair Sex does not resuse them. The poor People, who are able to include themselves, do it in bad Beer, and Danish Brandy,

which is made of Barley.

The Gentlemen and Officers go very fine in their Drefs, after the French Mode; but the Ladies Winter-drefs is Danish, very becoming and convenient. The Burghers, Servants, and even Peafants, are neat and cleanly; they love change of ordinary white Linnen, which is here made cheap, the Women-kind employing their leisure time in Spinning. All these People have a Degree of Vanity; Pride and Poverty being often Companions to each other.

Their Marriages are usually preceded by Contracts, which will last sometimes three, sour, or more Years, before they proceed to a publick Wedding by the Minister; though often the young Couple grow better acquainted before these Formalities are dispatched. The Gentry give Portions with their Daughters; but the Burghers and Peasants, if they be able, give Cloaths, some Houshold-stuff, and a great Wedding-Dinner, but nothing else till they die.

G 2

Sumptuous

Sumptuous Burials and Monuments are much in request with the Nobility; and it is usual to keep the Corpse of a Person of Quality in a Vault, or the Chancel of some Church, for several Years together, till a fit Opportunity to celebrate the Funeral. The poorer Sort are buried in great thick Chests; and in the Towns, there are about a dozen of common Mourners belonging to each Parish, who are obliged to carry and attend them to their Graves.

The common People are mean-spirited, not warlike in their Tempers, as formerly; inclined to gross Cheating, and to suspect that others have a Design to cheat them; therefore unwilling to go out of a Road they have been accustomed to: Infomuch, that if you offer them great Profit for a thing which they have not been used formerly to fell, they will refuse to part with it, as fuspecting that you see an Advantage in such a Purchase, which as yet is unknown to them, but which they hope to find out. I remember one Instance: Seeing great Flocks of Green Geese in the Fields near the Town, I fent to buy fome, but they being never used to fell or eat Geese, in that Country, till they are big and old, it was not possible to persuade any body to part with one of them, though double the Price of a big one were offered for each. They asked what we defired to buy them for? What we would do with them? &c. for they could not be perfuaded, any one would be fo foolish as to eat them whilst young, or little. After a Week, an old Woman, to whom Money had been offered for a Dozen, came and brought four to fell, faying, That neither she, nor her Geese, had thriven since she had refused to sell them at a good Price; for the Kite had the Night before kill'd eight of her Stock, and that

that now the remaining four were at my service. Thus the Superstition of this old Woman procured us the first Green Geese that I believe were ever eaten in Denmark; but after they had taken notice that we fatted and killed them for eating, they furnish'd us with them as often as defired. I would not omit this filly Story, because it gives a more lively Idea of the Temper of the common People, than any Description I could In their Markets they will ask the same Price for stinking Meat as for fresh; for lean, as for fat, if it be of a Kind. And the fure Way not to obtain, is to feem to value, and to ask importunately, a thing which otherwise they themfelves would defire should be done. This last Remark is not peculiar to the common People only.

I do not fee that they are good at imitating the Inventions of other Countries; and for inventing themselves, I believe none here, since the samous Tycho Brahe, ever pretended to it. Few or no Books are written, but what some of the Clergy compose of Religion. Not so much as a Song, or a Tune, was made, during three Years that I stayed there. Their Seasons of Jollity are very rare; and since the \* satal Opera, about sour Years ago, wherein many hundred Per-

\* On the 19th of April 1689, an Opera, which had been acted three Days before with great Applause, was repeated for the Entertainment of the Chief of the Town, in the Castle built by the Queen-Mother, which was one of the finest Structures in Copenhagen. There was a great Concourse of People, especially of Women and Children, of the best Quality. After an Act or more was over, a Lamp set fire to the Place where it stood, and the Fire soon caught hold of the Juniper-Work with which the House was beautisted, and immediately seiz'd the Roof, which was faced with oiled Cloth. There were but two little Doors to go out at; and the Crowd pressed so

fons were burnt together in the old Queen's House, they content themselves with running at the Goose on Shrove-Tuesdays, and taking their Pleasure upon Sleds in the Winter, well wrapp'd up in Wool or Fur: A Divertisement much in request in this Court, and among all kinds of People. Perhaps it will be thought too nice here to remark, That no body prefumes to go in a Sled, till the King and Court have begun; That the King passes over a new Bridge the first; and that the Clocks of Copenhagen strike the Hours after the Court Clock.

'Tis a difficult Matter for Strangers to find Conveniences of Lodging or Eating in Denmark; even in Copenhagen are few or no Lodgings to be let in private Houses; and in the Taverns one must be content to eat and drink in a publick Room, into which any other Company may enter, and do the like at another Table; unless one

pretends to higher Matters than ordinary.

The Language is very ungrateful, and not unlike the Irish in its whining complaining Tone. The King, great Men, Gentry, and many Burghers, make use of the High-Dutch in their ordinary Discourse, and of French to Strangers. have heard feveral in high Employment boaft that they could not speak Danish. Yet very many of the Monofyllables in this Tongue are the fame with the English; and without doubt we owe the Original of them to the Danes, and have retained them ever fince they were Mafters of our Country. CHAP.

hard, and so hindred one another's Escape, that there were above 200 Persons, some say 280, burnt in the House, besides many others that were miserably maimed; and the whole Castle, with its Furniture, was destroyed. Some whole Families perished in this Calamity, and hardly one considerable Family in all the City, that was not put into Mourning by this fad Accident.

#### CHAP. IX.

### Of the Revenue.

THE Revenue of the King of Denmark arises from three Heads: First, The Taxes and Impositions on his own Subjects: Secondly, Customs paid by Foreigners: Thirdly, Rents of his own Estate, Crown-Lands, and Confiscations.

Each of these shall be treated of apart.

The Taxes paid by his own Subjects, are in fome Cases fixed and constant, in others arbitrary. When I distinguish between these two, it is not meant that the King's Power is limited in any wise; but only that he chuses, in some Taxes, to follow Rules and Measures established by himself; in all others he varies often.

Of the first fort are, First, The Customs, or Toll, for Import and Export: Secondly, The Excife, commonly called the Consumption; which is upon Tobacco, Wine, Salt, Grain, &c. and all Eatables and Drinkables brought into any Town of the King of Denmark's Dominions to be spent. These are the great Taxes; and the last is severe There are befides, of this Kind, fmaller enough. Taxes; as that, 3dly, upon Marriages, where every Couple marrying pay fo much for their Licence, according to their Quality; this is pretty high, and comes, in fome Cases, to a good number of Rix-Dollars for a Licence. 4thly, A Tax for marked Paper, whereon all Bonds and Contracts, Copies of Judicial Proceedings, Grants, Passports, &c. must be written, otherwise they are invalid. And this is an uneafy Tax, there being of this kind of G 4 Paper

Paper which amounts to feveral Rix-Dollars a Sheet. Fifthly, Taxes for Brewing, Grinding, and other Things, which shall be hereafter spoken of. But these, and such like, are certain; that is to say, every one knows how much he is to pay, according to an Ordinance at present in force; which however may be altered as the King pleases.

Of the second Sort are Impositions upon Land; which is reckoned, not by Acres, but Farms; viz. so much for every Proportion of Land that will bear the sowing of a Tun of hard Corn. Wheat and Rye are called hard Corn; and according to the Fertility of the Land, Seasonableness of the Year, Ability of the Landlord, each Farm is taxed higher or lower, but seldom too low.

Secondly, Poll-Money, which is fometimes raifed twice in a Year, and is imposed according to the Substance of the Person taxed; which is guessed at, not fixed, as in other Places, where

all of a Rank pay equally.

Thirdly, Fortification-Tax, or Money raifed for, or upon Pretence of making Fortifications

for the Defence of the Kingdom, &c.

Fourthly, Marriage-Tax, when a Daughter of Denmark is to be disposed of; whose Portion commonly is but 100000 Crowns: But under this Name, Occasion is taken to raise more.

Fifthly, Trade-money, wherein every Tradefman is taxed for the Liberty of exercifing his Trade, according to the Gain which it is computed he makes by it: And he is moreover obliged to

quarter Soldiers.

Sixthly, Ground-Rent for all Houses in Copenbagen, or any other Towns in Denmark; which are taxed by the King, when he pleases, according to the Goodness of the House, the Ability

of the Possessor, or the Greatness of the Sum he intends to levy at that Time.

In Holstein and Sleswick the Lands are taxed by Ploughs; each Plough paying so much a Month.

To begin with those of the first Sort, whereof the Rates are known and fixed: It would be convenient, in speaking of the Customs and Excise, to transcribe the whole Book of Rates, but I fear to be too tedious; however, not to be wanting in any thing material, and to give a Tafte, whereby to guess at the rest, and measure Hercules by his Foot, fome Particulars shall be fet down; whereof to make a right Judgment, a due Regard must be had always, not only to the Plenty and Scarcity of Money in a Country, but also to the Goodness of a Commodity. For instance; when I fpeak of a fat Ox, it must not be imagined that we mean fuch as are usual in our English Markets, but rather such as we see come from Wales or Scotland. And so of other Things in the Consumption Tax. And a Rix-Dollar, confidering the Scarcity of Money, ought to be computed to go further than three Crowns with us.

#### Import Customs.

Import	CUSTOMS.	
		Stiv.
1	of Iron Bars imported, pays }02	00
	of wrought Iron 05	16
	of Copper — — oo	32
One Ship Pound {	of Wire, one fort 15	00
	of Wire, one fort 15 of Wire, another fort — }20	00
	of Pewter Vessels 15	00
	of Pewter un- wrought }00	18
	of Lead oo	12
	100 W	eight

경기에 가는 사람이 가장하는 것이 없는 것이다.			
		RD.S	tiv.
100 Weight of St	eel	00	24
One Pound of Quickfilver 00			02
One Ell of Cloth	of any Value	00	08
One Ell of plain	Silks	00	12
One Hat		00	32
One Piece of Kerr	sey of 20 Ells	OI	08
12 Pair of Worsted Stockings of			12
50 Ells of plain	Ribband	00	24
24 Ells of Ribb	Ribband	00	13
12 Pair of Gloves		00	21
One Waiftcoat ki	nit	00	12
	coat		05
			32
One Dozen of K	nives	00	
One Last of Coals	S	00	33
One Last of Coals			08
Too or Lemons	of Capers	00	40
	of Capers of Currants	OI	02
	of Raisins	00	32
	of Cinnamon		00
100 Pound 4	of Confections		08
	of Cork	02	00
	of Nutmegs		08
	of Sealing-wax	04	08
	- or ocume – –	V+	00
		onfump or Exc RD. S	ife.
One Barrel of Tal		15	16
One Pound of Toba		00	03
One Pound of Tol	hacco- 3	Ü	~3
Rolls, or Snuff		00	03
One Barrel of Bar	그 그렇게 가게 되었다. 이번 사람들은 아이들은 그 사람들이 되었다. 그렇게 되었다. 그 없는 것이 없는 것이다.		
One Barrel of Flo	C 11 -	Besides	
forts		Confum	1-
One Barrel of fal	t Beef - or os	tion.	
Date Date of lat	- 01 053	(	One
			DIIC

	Cuffor or To RD. S	ll. o	nfumpt r Excit RD. St	le.
One Ream of Paper	00	05		
One Barrel of Butter	03	00	00	32
One Ship Pound of Cheefe -		00	00	14
One Last of Spanish Salt -	15	00	00	36
One Last of French Salt -	08	00	00	36
One Last of Lunenburg Salt	24	00	00	36
One Hogshead of French Wine	06	32	05	00
One Hogshead of Vinegar	04	32	03	00
One Ahm of Rhenish, Canary,	08	00	06	00
On Ahm of French or Rhe- nish Brandy — —	01	32	03	16
One Hogshead of Cyder -	04	32	02	16
One Barrel of falt Herrings	10	32	00	04
of falt Salmon -		32	00	12
of Beer — —	02	00	00	32
Feathers, one Lifpound —	02	12	00	02
An Ox brought into any To	wn I	oays	1	16
at the Gate — —	:	_	} o i	10
But into Copenhagen	_	-	02	00
One Calf into Copenhagen -		. –	00	16
elfewhere — —	_	-	00	08
A Sheep, Swine, or Goat	_	_	00	06
A Chevreuil	_	-	00	32
A Pig — — — —	_	-	00	OI
A Hare — — —	-	-	00	04
A Turky — — —			- 00	03
A Goofe — — —	-	_	00	OIE
A Pair of Pigeons — —	_	-	00	012
of Ducks	-		00	02
of Partridges —	-		- 00	04
of Blackbirds, or Th	rushe	es —	00	01
Twenty Eggs — —	-	-	00	00
Twenty dried Eels, Breams,	or th	e like	00	02
Twenty Pickerels dried -	-	-	00	01
One Salmon — —	-	-	00	06
				One

OS An Account of DENMAR	K.	
•	nfump r Exci RD. S	ſe.
One Pail of Milk — — — —	00	02
One Barrel of falted Flesh or Tripes, which comes in by Land to Copenhagen	01	00
to other Towns	00	32
The like by Sea to Copenhagen —	00	32
to other Towns —	00	24
One Side of smoaked or falted Pork -	00	02
One Barrel of Tongues — — —	OI	00
One Firkin of Honey — — —	00	24
One Barrel of Beans or Peas — —	00	08
of Parfnips or Turnips —	00	011
One Bushel of Nuts — — —	00	02
Four Bunches of Onions — — —	00	001
One Barrel of Hops — — —	00	06
One Firkin of Soap — — —	00	12
of Muftard-feed — —	00	04
of Hempfeed, or Linfeed	00	01
A Horse-load of Hay entring the Gates	00	02
of Charcoal — — –	00	04
of Straw — — —	00	02
of green Keal or Colworts		10
of Turf or Wood by Land		10
of Beech-wood by Sea	00	04
of short Wood — —	00	02
of Birch-wood — —	00	OI
of Bark — — —	00	02
Planks, Oak-boards, and Fir-deals expor		10000
One per Cent. per Last, according to the Burden.		
Durden.	Cufto	m.
	RD. S	
A Mast for a Ship of 28 Palms long, pays	30	00
of 21 Palms — —	11	00
of 13 Palms — —	OI	24
Between 12 and 8 Palms per Dozen -	02	24
Under 5 Palms per Dozen	00	12
The rest proportionably.		One

	Confum or Exc	
One Doe-skin undressed — — —	00	02
dreffed — — —	00	04.
Ten Calves-skins — — — —	00	02
Ten Sheep-skins	00	OI
One Ox-hide	00	02
tanned	00	04
Ten Hides of English Leather	00	24
One Barrel of Rye ground for Bread, pays to the King for the grinding	}00	16
ground for Brandy	00	32
One Barrel of Wheat ground for Flour	00	40
of Malt for a Brewer	00	32
for a private House	10	00
of Oats for Grout		08

A Rix-Dollar is something short of an English Crown in Value; a Stiver is more than an English Penny; 48 Stivers make a Rix-Dollar. One Lispound is the same with what we call a Stone. One Ship-pound is 20 Lispound. A Danish Ell is a Third less than an English, or thereabouts.

There are publick Mills appointed and farmed to certain Persons by the King, where all the Inhabitants of *Copenbagen* are bound to grind upon a Penalty, and to pay the Sums above-mentioned for grinding; it being not permitted to any private Person or Brewer to grind his own Malt, nor Baker his own Bread-corn.

I need fay no more of the Tax for Marriage-Licences, or that for the Use of mark'd Paper in Bonds and Contracts, than has been already mentioned.

Those of the second Sort, viz. Land-Tax, House-Tax, Poll-Money, and Fortification-Money, which are sometimes laid high, and sometimes

times low; can have no fettled Estimate made of them; however, I shall endeavour to compute them in the summing up the Total of the Revenue, according to what they have yielded of late Years, which was pretty high; and according to the utmost they can bear at present, or may pro-

bably for the future.

Some Years ago, fince the last War with Sweden, the King caused a Valuation and a Register to be made of all the Houses in the Cities and Boroughs within his Dominions, as likewife an Admeasurement of all Lands in the Country, that he might the better proportion the Taxes he should have Occasion to levy. These are now applotted and raifed according to the very utmost of the People's Abilities; neither do I believe that in case of a War, or other Exigency, they could posfibly bear a greater Burden; for in the Country the Gentleman and Peafant are in a manner ruined; in the Cities and Boroughs, Houses pay yearly for Ground-Tax four per Cent. of the whole Value that the Ground is rated at, if it were to be purchased; and this is estimated by Commisfioners appointed for that Purpose, according to the Quantity of the Ground, or the Conveniency of the Station. Moreover, for every hundred Rix-Dollars which the Ground of any House is rated at, the Inhabitants are obliged to quarter one Soldier. Thus a Rhenish-Wine Vintner at Copenhagen, and he none of the richest, has the Ground of his House valued at 900 Rix-Dollars, he confequently pays 36 Rix-Dollars yearly for Ground-Tax, and quarters nine Soldiers upon the account of his House, and three more upon the account of his Trade. The like Proportion is observed towards all others, with respect to their Houses and Trades.

Here is commonly one Poll-Tax at least every Year; or if it chance to miss one Year, it is usually doubled the next. The lowest Assessment is according to the following Proportion, viz. a Burgher esteemed worth eight or ten thousand Rix-Dollars, pays for himself four Rix-Dollars, for his Wise four Rix-Dollars, for every Child two Rix-Dollars, for every Servant one Rix-Dollar, for every Horse one Rix-Dollar. An ordinary Alehouse-keeper pays for himself one Rix-Dollar, for his Wise one Rix-Dollar, for every Child 24 Stivers, for every Servant 16 Stivers.

About two Years ago there was a Poll-Tax higher than ordinary; and at that Time this Proportion was observed: One of the Farmers of the Customs paid for himself 24 Rix-Dollars, for his Wise 16 Rix-Dollars, for her Maid two Rix-Dollars, for every other Servant one Rix-Dollar. A Burgher esteemed worth fix or eight thousand Rix-Dollars, paid for himself six Rix-Dollars, for his Wise sour Rix-Dollars, for every Child two Rix-Dollars, for every Servant one Rix-Dollar; and thus did others according to their several Abi-

lities.

The Fortification Schatt is a Tax with a witness: In that which was levied in the Year 1691, these were the Rules for Payment. All the King's Servants paid 20 per Cent. of their yearly Salaries. All the Officers of the Army, beginning with Captains, and so upwards, 30 per Cent. of their Pay. (These used to be freed from former Taxes of this kind.) The Nobility and Gentry paid in proportion to their Rank and Estate. The highest, as Count Guldenlieu, &c. from Seven hundred to One thousand Rix-Dollars each. Burghers were taxed according to their supposed Abilities; the richer Sort from One hundred

hundred to Four hundred Rix-Dollars each; the middle fort of Merchants worth fix or eight thoufand Rix-Dollars, paid forty Rix-Dollars; an Apothecary fixty-eight Rix-Dollars; a Vintner fifty-five Rix-Dollars; ordinary Burghers eight or ten Rix-Dollars each; the poorer Sort one or two Rix-Dollars, and fo forth. This fort of Tax has been accounted equal with another called the Kriegs Sture, imposed at the beginning of the War; and that amounted to near Seven hundred thousand Rix-Dollars in all. But 'tis most certain, the People are not now able to pay as they were then, and confequently it will not be fo much by a great deal.

When the King's only Daugthter was about to be married to the present Elector of Saxony, a Marriage-Tax was intended, and had certainly been levied in case the Marriage had gone forward: But the one, as well as the other, is now no more spoken of, though no Kingdom in Europe can boast of a more deserving Princess.

I suppose by this time an English Reader has taken a Surfeit of this Account of Taxes which the Subjects of Denmark do pay. But it ought to be a great Satisfaction to him to reflect, that through the Happiness of our Constitution, and the Prudence and Valour of our King, the People of this Nation, though enjoying ten times more natural and acquired Advantages than the Danes, which causes more than ten times their Affluence, do not for all that pay towards the carrying on the most necessary and just War, the third Part in proportion to what the King of Denmark's Subjects do in time of a profound Peace. Pax servientibus gravior est, quam liberis Bellum. Livii Hift. Lib. 10.

The fecond Head, from whence proceeds a confiderable Branch of this King's Revenue, is the

Customs or Toll paid by Foreigners.

These pay something more for imported Goods than the Natives and Burghers, and more Anchorage-money in the Ports: The Danes, from their own Ports to their own Ports, paying four Stivers per Last; from Foreign Ports ten Stivers per Last; whereas Foreign Ships pay twelve Stivers. But that which is most considerable to the King, is the Toll paid by all Strangers (except the Swedes) that pass the Sound; and the Customs of Norway.

I have in another Place given an ample Account of the Original and Progress of this Toll, together with the Copy of a Letter which makes a Computation of the prefent Revenue arising from thence; fo that I shall not need to repeat what I formerly faid; only in general, that it is much fallen from what it was in the Time of the last War, when all that passed paid: It came then to about 143000 Rix-Dollars yearly. In the Years 1690, and 1691, it amounted not to much more than 65000 Rix-Dollars; at which Rate we may judge it likely to continue. This belongs to the King's Privy Purfe, and comes not under the Management of the Treasurer.

The Revenues of Norway arise chiefly from the Tenths of Timber and Tar, of Fish and Oil, and the Customs of the same; which being bought and exported by Foreign Merchants, the Sums that come from thence into the King's Coffers are principally owing to them. It is true, there are Silver Mines, and Iron, and one of Copper; but these are of small Value. The Excise, and the other Taxes of the Natives, are the fame with those of Denmark; which these of Norway are better enabled to pay, because of their Foreign

H

Trade;

Trade; altho' this also is considerably diminished since their late Quarrel with the Dutch; who thereupon gave over their Trassick with them, and transferred it for some time to Sweden. These Differences have indeed been since adjusted; but it is a hard Matter to reduce Trade thoroughly into the former Channel, when once it has taken another Course. The Danes are of opinion that neither the English nor Dutch can possibly want the Norway Trade for their Naval Stores: But if a right Use were made of our Plantations in the West-Indies, they may chance to find themselves mistaken.

It may not be amiss to mention in this Place, though it be something foreign to the Matter in hand, That just before the present War with France, the Trading Ships belonging to all the King of Denmark's Dominions, were computed to amount to about sour hundred, besides little Barks that bring Wood, &c. because the Number of them had been lessened almost two thirds within thirty Years. But at present, since the Trade of Europe has been in a manner carried on by the Neutral Princes, it cannot otherwise be, but that the Number must be considerably increased within these four Years; though as yet it comes not up to what it formerly did.

To conclude with Norway, which is divided into the Southern and Northern Provinces: The whole Revenue from the first of these amounts yearly to between five and six hundred thousand Rin-Dollars; and from the last to between two and three hundred thousand Rin-Dollars; and so the Total may be, communibus annis, 800000 Rin-

The exactest Computation that I have known made of the English, Dutch, and French Trades to these Parts in Times of Peace, ran thus: Of

Dollars.

English

English there passed the Sound yearly from two hundred Vessels to three hundred; of Dutch from one thousand to eleven hundred; of French from ten to twelve; and the like Proportion to By which it is eafily judged, that the Friendship and Trade of France ought to come in no Competition with that of England and Holland; fince the King of Denmark owes fo large a Share of his best Revenue to these last, and so little to the other.

The third and least considerable Branch of the Revenue arises from the Rents of the Crown-Lands, and confiscated Estates. The latter are in the King's Hands, either upon account of Forfeiture for Treafon and other Crimes, or by reafon of Debt and Non-payment of Taxes; and it is to be supposed these will increase every Day in proportion to the Poverty of the Country; fince, as I formerly faid, many would be glad rather to furrender their Estates to the King, than pay

the Taxes imposed on them.

But notwithstanding this Addition of Lands, the King is fo far from being the richer, that he is the poorer for it: For upon the King's becoming Possessor of any Man's Estate, immediately the great Pains and Care ceases which was formerly taken to improve it, and make it yield as much as it could; and it becomes almost desolate, either thro' the Negligence or little Encouragement of the Tenants: Generally it turns to Forest, and contributes to his Diversion, though little to his Purse; and the Houses run to decay. So do the Royal Palaces, whereof there are a great many on the Crown-Lands; few of them, except Fredericksburg, being in a Condition to be dwelt in. which Reason it is a hard Matter to make a just Calculation what yearly Revenue these afford: And that which they do yield goes for the most

part among the Courtiers, who have the Government of the King's Houses, the Supervisorthips of his Parks, Forests, and Farms, with the Services of his Boors and Tenants. So that I believe we should rather over than under reckon them, if we compute the clear yearly Profit of

these to amount to 200000 Rix-Dollars.

I endeavoured to know from an exact and understanding Person there, how much the running Cash of those Kingdoms might probably be: Whose Answer was in these Words: It is very difficult to make any rational Computation of the running Cash of these Kingdoms; but certainly it is but very little, and not near the hundredth Part of that of England: For, excepting a very few, none bave any Cash by them; the trading People, through whose Hands it runs, being generally Men of no Substance, but indebted over Head and Ears to their Creditors at Amsterdam and Hamburg, it comes no somer in, but it is paid out. Moreover, the Cash of the Nation runs yearly out, by what the Officers of the Army, who are Foreigners, can clear; for all That they transport to other Countries: Likewise by what divers of the Ministers of State can scrape together; since it is observed, that few or none of them purchase any Lands, but place their Money in the Banks of Amsterdam and Hamburg. Furthermore, by what the Over-ballance of Trade carries away; for this Country consumes more of Foreign Commodities, than its own Product can countervail. And all this makes me believe, that there is but an inconsiderable running Cash here; and very much of that which runs among the People is Brass-money, which is not worth any one's while to export: Besides, the very Silver Coin bas a great Mixture of Brafs in it.

From the whole, I conclude, that there is a moral Impossibility all these Taxes and Impossitions should continue. The Weight of them is already so great, that the Natives have Reason rather to wish for, than defend their Country from, an Invader; because they have little or no Property to lose, and may probably thereby mend their Condition, when there is scarce a Possibility of making it worse. There seems to be a great Sense of this in the Court, and therefore an Army composed of Foreigners is depended on. Here follow the Particulars of the Revenue.

R	ix-Dollars.
Toll of the Sound — — —	65000
All the rest of the Toll of Denmark farmed at }	165000
The Confumption or Excise of Copen- } bagen, farmed at }	140000
The Confumption of the rest of }	140000
Smaller Taxes in Denmark	100000
Poll-Tax, Fortification-Tax, Ground-Rents, Hard-Corn-Tax ——	1000000
All the Revenue of Norway — —	700000
King's Estate, Crown-Lands, &c	200000
Isoland farmed for	27000
Oldenburg and Delmenborst	- 80000
Toll upon the Weser	5000
Feroe, Groenland, &c	- 0
Rix-Dollars	2622000

It must be observed, that the Poll-Tax, and the Fortification-Tax, are never both raised the same Year; so that there must be deducted out of that Sum about 400000 Rix-Dollars in lieu of one of those Taxes; and then the Sum total of the whole Revenue of the King of Denmark will amount every Year to about two Millions two hundred twenty-two thousand Rix-Dollars.

H<sub>3</sub> CHAP,

#### CHAP. X.

Of the Army, Fleet, and Fortresses.

AVING done with the Revenue, I come in the next Place to shew how those Sums are expended: And it is certain, that the levying of them is not more grievous to the Subject, than the Reason for which they are levied, viz. the Maintenance of a great standing Army: So that the People are Contributors to their own Mifery; and their Purfes are drained in order to their Sla-Thus the King of France makes the rich Towns he takes be at the Charge of building Citadeis to keep themselves in awe: And it is that Master of the Art of Reigning, as his Flatterers call him, that has instructed the Court of Denmark, as well as the other Princes and States of Europe, in the pernicious Secret of making one Part of the People both the Bridle and Scourge of the other; which in Time must needs end in a general Defolation.

The King of Denmark has been but too apt a Pupil to fuch a Master, and has endeavoured even to exceed his Original; which he finds to his Cost at this Day, in raising more Men than his Country can maintain. Soldiers are, through I know not what mistaken Policy, esteemed the Riches of the Northern Kings, and other German Princes; for when they make an Estimate of each other's Wealth, it is not by the usual and ancient Manner of Computation, the Fertility or Extent of the Territory, the Traffick, Industry, Number, or Riches of the People; but by fo

many Horse and Foot: For the Subsistence of which they are forced, after they have eaten up their own Subjects, to make use of a hundred cruel and unjust Shifts, to the Ruin of their Neigh-And when they cannot accomplish such a destructive Project in the Manner they wish, then they are constrained to foment Quarrels between more potent Princes, that they may have the Opportunity of felling to one or other those Forces which themselves cannot possibly maintain: So that at prefent Soldiers are grown to be as faleable Ware as Sheep or Oxen, and are as little concern'd when they are fold; for provided the Officers be render'd content by the Purchaser, in having Liberty to plunder the laborious and honest Country People in their Marches, and a fat Winter-Quarter, with Permission to defraud their own Men of their Pay, the common Soldier goes with no more Sense than a Beast to the Slaughter; having no fuch Sentiment, as Love of Honour, Country, Religion, Liberty, or any thing more than mere Fear of being hang'd for a Deferter.

But this mischievous Custom of Princes esteeming Soldiers the only true Riches, was first begun and established by the French King, and is grown general by his Care to cultivate this Opinion in the Minds of the German Princes, whose poor Countries he foresees will be soon ruined by such a Practice. This he principally aims at, and it has brought Matters to such a Pass, that War and Destruction are grown absolutely necessary. For as all Men that lay up Wealth never think they have enough, so these that consider Soldiers as the only Riches, never cease enlarging their Number, till they are necessitated, for their Subsistence, either to come to Blows with their Neighbours, or to create Animosities between others; wherein they have found

the Knack of being employ'd, and receiving Pay without interessing themselves in the Quarrel. Where this will end, God Almighty knows, and can only prevent the apparent Mifchiefs threaten'd by it, viz. the universal Misery and Depopulation of Europe. For fince this Practice is grown fo general, none of these Kings or Princes, tho' endowed with a more peaceable Spirit and better Judgment than the rest, dares lead the Dance, and difarm, for fear of his armed Neighbours, whose Necessities make them wait only for an Opportunity to fall upon him that is worst provided to make Resistance: And this is none of the leaft Calamities which the French Tyranny has forced upon the World; having reduced all the Princes and Commonwealths of it to this hard Choice, either to fubmit themselves to an intolerable Foreign Yoke, or maintain Vipers

at home to gnaw their own Bowels.

But the Consequences of these unjust Practices have been more pernicious to Denmark, than to the French King that fet the Example: The Toad may emulate the Ox, and fwell; but he shall fooner burst than equal him. The one goes on in a Course of prosperous Tyranny; but the other, through an ill Calculation of his own Strength, which is no way proportionable to his Ambition, never hitherto throve in any of his Attempts upon his Neighbours. Hamburg is yet a Free City, and the Duke of Holftein restored to his Possessions; whilst Schonen, Halland, Bleking, and Yempterland, remain in the Possesfion of the Swedes; who in taking up Arms for their own Defence, have had the Fortune to revenge the Injury. And the Danes are constrain'd to acquiesce in the Loss of those their best Provinces, without any rational Hopes of ever recovering them. A Life

#### A List of the Horse and Foot in the Service of the King of Denmark, which belonged particularly to Denmark, Holstein, and Oldenburg.

#### HORSE. Men. Egiment of Danish Guards, consisting of fix Troops, 75 Men in each Troop, Lieutenant-General Pless Colonel, with Officers of all Sorts Regiment of Holstein Guards, confisting of nine Troops, each fifty with the Officers, \ 450 Colonel Bass Col. Berensdorf's Regiment, nine Troops 450 Col. John Rantzaw nine Troops 450 Col. Rave nine Troops 450 Col. Swanwedle nine Troops 450 Col. Baffum nine Troops — 450 Col. Nemerson nine Troops — — 450 Col. Hulft nine Troops 450 Col. Sturk nine Troops 450 Col. Otto Rantzaw nine Troops 450 Col. Gam nine Troops 450 Total 5450 DRAGOONS. Baron Lyondale Colonel Col. Bee 500 Col. Habercas 500 Raifed most in Norway. Total 1500

FOOT.

FOOT.	Men.
Regiment of Guards, Duke of Wirth	emberg } 1400
Queen's Regiment, Col. Paffaw -	1200
Prince Royal's Regiment, Col. Cra	
Prince George's Regiment, Count A	
Prince Christian's Regiment, Brig. H	
Zealand Regiment, Col. Tramp -	1200
Funen Regiment, Col. Browne -	1100
Note, that these seven Regiments were great Battalions were taken out of each of them, we fold to his Majesty, and now serve under the Wirtemberg's Command in Flanders.	hich were
Lieutenant-General Schack's Regime	nt - 1800
Lamsdorf's Regiment	1200
Regiment of Courlanders, Col. Potto	amer - 1000
	1000
Oldenburg Regiment, Col. Bieulo -	2000
	Total 15200
Note, That by virtue of a Treaty conclude peror, there were fent lately into Hunfore-named Troops, under the Commandant Rantzaw, viz.	gary part of the
One Battalion of Lieutenant-Ge	neral Schack's
Regiment. One Battalion of Col. Pottcamer's	Regiment.
One Regiment of Horse taken from	
Colonel, and given to one Colonel	
Colonel Bee's Regiment of Drago	oons. Which
may be deducted from the Sum Tot	at the End.
Fuziliers, Cannoniers, and Bombardi Denmark, Norway, Holftein, &c.	ers in } 1800
Sum Total of the Foot, besides Office	1/000
	4 7:0

#### An Account of DENMARK. 83 A List of the Forces in Norway. One Regiment of Horse, consisting of Men. nine Troops, commanded by Col. Rechle S One Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by Colonel Marshal FOOT. Bergen Regiment, Col. Ed. Ken 1200 Aggerbuys Regiment, Col. Housman 1000 Smaland Regiment, Brigadier Tritstaw - 1000 Upland Regiment, Col. Brockenbuysen 1000 Westland Regiment, Col. Arnauld 1100 Dronthem Regiment, Col. Schults 1200 A Marine Regiment 600 Two new raised Regiments, one command- \2000 ed by Col. Bunenberg, the other by Two free Companies at Dronthem 200 9300 Referves 5000 These Reserves are such as receive no Pay in time of Peace, but are like our Militia, only they have Cloaths given them once in two Years; and are obliged to meet and exercise every Sunday, if the Weather be fair. So that the King of Denmark's Land-Forces, confifting of Horse and Dragoons, in Denmark, Holftein, &c. Foot in the fame 17000 Horse and Dragoons in Norway -1256 Foot in Norway, including the Referves 14300 In all are 39506 But if you exclude the Reserves, with about 2500 Men that were fent to 32006 Hungary, the Sum total will amount to (besides Officers of the Foot) — A great

A great Regiment of Foot, before the Battalions were drawn out of them for the King of England's Service, confifted of nineteen Companies; and so it will be again when these Forces return to Denmark. In the Guards were a great many more.

The Charge of one of these great Regiments of Foot amounts to 90000 Rix-Dollars a Year, thus:

	RD.	Stiv.
1 Captain's Pay per Month	- 20	00
2 Lieutenants, 11 Rix-Dollars each -	- 22	00
3 Serjeants { Pay 4 RD. } to each. } Tourier { Bread 32 Stiv. } In all }	18	32
3 Corporals Pay and Bread, 3 RD. 32 Stivers each — — — 3	11	00
2 Carpenters 3 RD. 8 Stiv. each—	The second second	16
88 Common Soldiers, 2 Rix-Dollars	234	32
	350	32
For nineteen Companies — —	6662	$\frac{3^2}{3^2}$
The Grenadiers have half a Rix-Dollar per Man more — — —	54	24
This is per Month — — — —	6717	08
	80606	00
Each Captain hath per Month for recruiting, 8 RD. which for 19 Companies in 12 Months is	1824	00
The Colonel hath more than his Captain's Pay per Month RD.30 2 Lieut, Col. per Month more 40	And in	
And to a Regiment are five Enfigns $   {140}$		
Total 7	84110	QO The
		4 110

The Remainder of the 90 thousand Rix-Dollars runs up for the other Officers, Auditor, Quarter-master, Surgeon, Powder, Shot, and

other necessary Expences.

The common Soldier receives but 17 Stivers a Week; the rest goes for Bread, Quarters and Cloaths, which they have once in three Years from Head to Foot; and in the Midst of those three Years, Shoes, Stockings, Breeches, Shirt, and Cravat. 'Tis permitted to the common Soldiers to work where they are quartered; but then during this Permission their Officers receive all

the Benefit of their Pay.

The Foot, both Officers and Soldiers, are for the most part Strangers of all Countries, whom Choice or Fortune brings thither; Germans, Poles, Courlanders, Dutch, Swedes, Scotch, Irifb, and now and then an English Seaman, whom they make drunk after a long Voyage, and inveigle him by fair Promises, in that Humour, to take fome of the King's Money. The Natives are, through their dispirited Temper, thought very improper to make Soldiers; and besides, the Landlords, whose Slaves they are, can hinder them from entring into the King's Service, and can remand them, if any should offer so to do; as has been frequently practifed by them, to avoid Mifery at home, and to exchange one Slavery for another.

The Officers of the Horse receive no more Pay in time of Peace, than those of the Foot. The Troopers, who are generally Natives, and none of the best Soldiers, are maintained every one by his Peasant, who is bound to give him and his Horse, Meat, Drink, House-room, &c. besides to the Value of six Shillings sterling a Month;

half of which Money goes to his Colonel towards

his mounting.

The Dragoons are in somewhat a better Condition, because they are not obliged to keep Horses, but in Time of War; besides, in Holfein they have larger Pay than in Denmark.

In Norway the Forces cost but little in comparifon of what they do elsewhere; for besides the Pay of the Officers, and the Cloathing of the Soldiers, not much Money is expended; each single Soldier having free Quarter amongst the Boors. It is to be noted, that the Officers of this Army are, for the most part, sourteen or eighteen Months in Arrear of Pay; so that the best part of their Maintenance is out of the common Soldiers Subsistence Money.

The Names of the general Officers.

Lieutenant-Generals.

Count Wedel Mareschal.
Count Guldenlieu Viceroy of Norway.
Duke of Wirtemberg.
Commandant Schack.
Monsieur Plessen of the Horse.
Monsieur Dumeny.

Major-Generals.

Monsieur De Cormaillon.

Monsieur Maspack of the Horse.

Master of the Ordnance is Col. Monk.

Thus much shall suffice for the Land. I come now to speak of the Sea Forces.

The

#### The Names of the Admirals are

Admiral-General Monfieur Juel.

Vice-Admiral Bielk.

Vice-Admiral Spaan.

Vice-Admiral Gedde.

Rear-Admiral Hoppe.

Rear-Admiral Van Stucken.

There are in Copenhagen 3000 Seamen kept in constant Pay, who go not to Sea unless in time of War, but have a certain small Allowance of Money, with a conftant weekly provision of Salt-Flesh, Stock-fish, Meal, Grout, &c. given them out of the publick Store-Houses, for the Maintenance of themselves and Families. They have moreover feveral Streets of small Houses, like Barraques, built regularly for them, by King Christian the Fourth, in one of the Out-Skirts of Copenbagen within the Works; where they live Rent-free, and where they leave their Wives and Children when they go to Sea. Their Bufiness in time of Peace is to work on the Holm; which is a large Yard with Docks in it, to build Shipping, over-against the King's Palace in Copenhagen. Here they are employed by turns in all laborious Works belonging to Ships, Guns, Anchors, Cables, drawing of Timber, &c. and so painful is this Toil efteemed, that Criminals of the highest kind are usually condemned to work on this Holm for a certain number of Years, or during Life, according to the Nature of the Offence. Once a Year generally, to find Exercise for these, some of the Men of War are rigged and equipped with their Guns, &c. and drawn out of Port to fail up and down, between that and Elfinore, for three or four Weeks, or longer, according as the good Weather lasts. The Pay of these Mariners in Money is but 8 Rix-Dollars yearly for each; and as fmall as it is, it is fo ill discharged, that they mutinied feveral Times, of late Years, for want of it, and even befieged the King in his Palace, till fome fignal Severity towards the principal Mutineers quelled them. There is usually a Year and a half's Arrears owing to them, and often more; which is the better born, because of their weekly Allowance in Provision; although that be very feanty, especially to such as have many Children to feed.

The best Seamen belonging to the King of Denmark are the Norwegians; but most of these are in the Service of the Dutch, and have their Families established in Holland; from whence it is fcarce likely they will ever return home, unlefs the Dutch use them worse, or the Danes better, than hitherto they have done; for the Danish Sea-provision is generally very bad.

All the Officers of the Fleet are in constant Pay, as well in time of Peace as War; which makes them less given to plunder, than those who make use of the short Time they are in Commisfion to enrich themselves as fast as they can.

#### A List of the King of Denmark's Fleet.

Ships.						G	uns.	Men.
Christianus Qui	intus	_	-	-	-	-	100	650
Prince Frederic		-	-		-	-	84	600
Elephant —	_	-	-	_	_	_	- 84	600
Three Crowns	_	_	_	-		_	84	600
Norway Lion	_	-	_	-	-	-	84	600
Prince George	_	_	_	-	-	_	82	600
Cour Prince .		_	_	-	_	-	82	590
							Men	rcurius

Ships.	G	ins.	Men.
Mercurius	_	76	510
Mars	-	76	500
Three Lions	-	70	490
Drake	-	70	490
Charlotta Amelia	-	68	480
Anna Sophia	-	66	470
Swan	_	66	470
Christianus Quartus	_	64	430
Fredericus Tertius	_	56	400
Guldenlieu	_	56	390
Christiania	_	58	390
Oldenburg	_	56	360
Lintworm	_	49	330
Slefwick	_	42	300
Feroe	_	54	380
Angel	_	52	300
Delmenborst	_	50	300
Swedish Falcon	_	48	250
Neptune	_	46	220
Sword-fish	_	44	210
Tumbler	_	42	200
Hummer	_	34	160
Danish Meremaid	_	30	140
Dragon		28	140
White Falcon		26	120

#### Small Ships and Snows.

The Tyger.

New Elephant, a Yacht.

Phanix Galley, a Bomb-boat,

Minden.

Pacan.

Little Elephant, a Yacht.

Swermer.

The Ape.

No Fire-Ships.

In all 32 Ships, 1927 Guns, 12670 Men.
This

This Fleet was never fet to Sea thus equipp'd, but this is the Computation the Danes make of their Sea-Forces; and thus much they fay in cafe

of Necessity they are able to perform.

Some of the biggest of these Ships draw more Water by five or six Foot at the Stern than at the Head, which denotes they are broken-back'd; they are all generally lower masted than ours, and seem more unwieldy. I believe them more proper for the Baltick than the Ocean; if we except some sew of the Cruisers, and other Ships which convoy their Merchant-men to France, Spain, and Portugal.

# Fortresses belonging to the King of Denmark.

N Bornbolm, a fertile Island in the Baltick Sea, nearest to Sweden of any of this King's Dominions, are two Fastnesses; one an ancient Castle, the other a Citadel, according to the modern Manner of Fortification, which commands the best Road in the Island called Roena. It was finished in the Year 1689, and has good Bastions and Out-works.

Christian's Oye, about seven English Miles North-west from Bornholm, being a number of little Islands which inclose a safe Harbour for thirty Sail; the largest Isle, in Form of a Crescent, is well fortissed.

In the Island Mune at Stege, a small Town, is an ancient Castle of little Desence, where there is a

Garison.

In Laland, all that looks like Strength is the Town of Nankew, and an old Caftle called Allbolm; but they are of no great Defence.

In Zealand, first, the Town of Copenhagen is well

well fortified, but the Works are only Earth. Secondly, The Castle of *Cronenburg* near *Elsinore*, which is now near finishing, and is faced with Brick: It is an irregular, but good Fortification. Thirdly, *Corsoer*, a small earthen Fortress over against *Funen*.

In Funen, the Town of Nyburg is pretty well fortified towards the Sea; but towards the Land

the Works are out of repair.

In Holstein there is, first, Gluckadt, a wellfortified Town upon the River Elbe, which because of its Neighbourhood to Hamburg is kept in a good Condition. Secondly, Cremp, a Town within three English Miles of the former, near the River Stoer, in no extraordinary Repair. Thirdly, Hitlar Schance on an Island, twelve English Miles from Hamburg. Fourthly, Rendsburg, on the Borders between Holstein and Sleswick, and on the River Eyder; this Place is now enlarging, the Bulwarks and Outworks are facing with Brick; it will be a Royal Fortification, and is the most considerable Place the King of Denmark has, both for Strength and Situation. Fifthly, Christian's Prize, or Frederick's Ort, (for it has two Names) fituated at the Entrance of the Haven of the City of Kiel on the Baltick. It is commanded by a Hill one hundred and twelve Roods North from it.

In Jutland, first, Fredericia, a very well fortified Town, being a Pass over the Little Belt. Secondly, Hall, a small Fortress on the Northside the Entrance of the River that leads to Alburg. Thirdly, at Flatstrand, twenty English Miles South of the Scagen Point, is a Schance and a small Fort for the Defence of the Haven.

To the Southward of the North Cape of Lapland is a Fort of fix Bastions, called Wardbuys. And in Norway there is, first, Dronthem, guarded

to the Sea by a strong Castle, called Monkholm, (where Monsieur Griffenfelt is at present kept close Prisoner) and to the Land by a strong Citadel. Secondly, Bergen, a very strong Place towards the Sea, and environed with high Mountains, which make it inacceffible by Land. 'Twas here the Dutch East-India Ships sheltered themfelves, when the English Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of Sandwich, attacked them un-The Danes had passed their Word, fuccessfully. that they would deliver them up; but some seasonable Prefents which the Hollanders made at Court, prevailed fo far, as to make them break it; which occasioned the Hollanders Safety, and our Difgrace. Fourthly, Christiania, the Capital of Norway; it has a strong Citadel. Fifthly, Larwick, a flight Fortification. Sixthly, Frederickstadt, a Place which has good Works, but built on a bad Foundation. Seventhly, Wingar Castle, a Pass on the Borders of Norway. Eighthly, Frederick's-hall, a Place well fortified, but much commanded by a Hill one hundred Rood from it. Ninthly, a Fort at Fleckero, near the Town of Christiansandt.

In the East-Indies the King has a small Fortress called Tranquebar, on the Coast of Coromandel: In Guiney another called Christiansburg; and a third in the Island of St. Thomas in the West-Indies, which commands the only good Port in all those Parts, wherein Ships take Shelter during the Sea-

fon of the Hurricanes.

One may eafily judge that fuch an Army and Fleet, with fo many Fortresses, cannot be maintained as they ought, without a very great Purse. The former Chapter gives a just Account of the Revenue; and the Military Expences may be gueffed at by this. There is over and above all thefe,

these, the Charge of the Civil List, the Maintenance of the Court, King's Children, Publick Ministers, &c. Whether the Income bears proportion to all these Expences, and would be sufficient without the Assistance of foreign Money, is left to the Determination of such as are skill'd in calculating.

#### CHAP. XI.

## Of the Court.

NDER this Head I comprehend the King, Queen, Royal Family, Ministers of State, Knights of the Order of the Elephant, and of Dannebrug, with other principal Officers

belonging to the Court.

The prefent King of Denmark, Christian the Fifth, is but of a moderate Stature, rather lean than corpulent; yet well proportioned, and strongly built; his Complexion is fanguine; he wears a black Perriwig; the Lines of the lower Part of his Face are not unlike those of King Charles the Second; his Constitution has been very robust, capable to endure, and loving to undergo all manner of Fatigue; until that within these few Years, having had some Fits of the Gout, he thought it better to dispense with Exercifes which might diffurb his Eafe; especially there being less Need in time of Peace of his taking fuch Pains as he eafily could, and yet would do, were there Occasion. He began the fix and fortieth Year of his Age the fifteenth of April 1692. His Habit is usually modest, but gentile; he feldom appears at Court-times with either Hat or Gloves, though always (after the German

German Fashion) with a good Sword girt close to his Side.

As to his Qualities, he is a Prince of fingular Affability and Good-nature; temperate, if you confider the Humour of that Country; being neither luxurious in his Meat or Drink, and of late Years very feldom making any Debauch. His Amours have not been many, and in those he has continued very constant. He is religious as a Prince ought to be, without doting on his Clergy, tho' they feem to adore him: In his own Temper a Lover of Justice and Moderation; but often over-ruled by those about him, to whom he leaves the whole Management of Affairs; because he neither loves, nor has a Genius for Busi-He speaks little, unless to his Ministers, and immediate Servants; yet he gives all Opportunity and Encouragement to others to entertain him; as it were emboldening them by a gracious Smile, and advancing towards them. He is Master of three Languages besides his own, the High and Low Dutch, and the French, using them with great Ease upon occasion. He was not bred up to any fort of Learning, yet takes a particular Delight in Geography; and is never better pleased than when an exact Chart of any Country, or Delineation of any Fortress, is brought to him; his Genius for War inclining him to love Fortification. He is of a clear undoubted personal Courage, as has been often demonstrated in the late Wars with Sweden; but eases himself of the greatest part of the Conduct, which he leaves to his Generals, not relying on his own Judgment either in Occasions of Action or Negotiation; though 'tis probable the Greatness of his Courage in the one, and the Sincerity of his Intentions in the other, would produce better Effects, did he trust himself more, and others less.

In fine, he is a very mild and gracious Prince, beloved rather than reverenced by his People; who are fensible that the present Form of Government, concurring with a King of a severe Temper, would be altogether intolerable. His Motto under his Arms and Cypher is, Pietate & Justitia; and his Subjects do really believe the Preservation of these to be his true Inclinations; and that all Hardships that fall upon them, have their Rise from the Ministry. Therefore they complain of his permitting, rather than his acting; and attribute all the Evils they endure, to the Easiness of his Temper, and Unhappiness of their present Constitution; which is not redressed by any Ad-

vantages derived from his Education.

The Queen, Charlotta Amelia, is a Princess that deferves to be mentioned with all Honour, even though she were not of that high Quality. She is fair, and well-shaped; her Complexion being a Mixture of Flegmatick and Sanguine; and althe' she be in the forty-first Year of her Age, continues still handsome. Her Carriage is very engaging, affable and free; her great Accomplishments fecure to her the Hearts of her Subjects, notwithstanding her differing from them in Religion, and stop the Mouths of the bigotted Lutherans, who would be apt enough to exclaim against her, did not a most unreproachable Life fet her above Malice. They have made feveral Attempts to wound the Calvinist Religion through her Sides; but she has hitherto frustrated them all, and preferved not only herfelf, but the little French Protestant Church (lately founded in Copenhagen by her Bounty, and subsisting through her Protection) from all the Affaults made against it by Persons in Power. And this she does the more effectually, through a prudent Compliance with the with him to the Lutheran Service and Sermons; thereby not only shewing the charitable and good Opinion she has of the publick established Worship, but getting a greater Freedom of going every Asternoon to hear the French Ministers in her own Church. She is the common Resuge of distressed People, who never sail of their Account in approaching her. Neither is Access to her dissicult; she often prevents those that have need, and does good before she be sought unto. In short, she is Sister to the present Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; worthy of such a Brother, and the

illustrious Stock from whence she proceeds.

The King of Denmark has five Children; four Princes and one Princess. Prince Frederick, the eldeft, who is also called the Prince Royal, is about twenty Years old. It were to be wished his Education had been more conformable to his Quality; for his former Governor being fomewhat pedantick, had infused a little Stiffness and Formality into the Pupil, which People that judge by outward Appearances, are apt to mifconstrue Pride; but doubtless his Travels have reformed that ill Habit. Prince Christian, the second Son, is about eighteen Years of Age, of a more lively and affable Temper than his elder Brother, as well as taller, and of a more robust Constitution; much addicted to Hunting, and riding the great Horse; he longs for nothing more than to see and shew himself to the World. Prince Charles. the third Son, is about nine Years old; and Prince William, the fourth, about fix. The former is a very forward hopeful Youth; the latter does not yet stir out of the Nursery, so that no Judgment can be made of him.

The Princess Sophia Hedwig is about sixteen, a very beautiful sweet-temper'd and well-educated Lady;

Lady; she was contracted to the present Elector of Saxony her own Cousin Germain; but the

Match was afterwards broken off.

The King has, befides thefe, two Natural Sons by Mrs. Mote, a Citizen's Daughter of Copenhagen, whom he has made Counters of Samfoe (an Island which he has given to her:) he fends her moreover, as it is confidently reported, 1000 Rix-Dollars every Saturday Night. The young Gentlemen, her Sons, are very handsome and hopeful. eldest is in the Service of France, where he has a Regiment of Horse, and is called young Guldenlieu, to distinguish him from the Elder, who is Viceroy of Norway; the King gives him the Revenue of the Post-Office. This Appellation of Guldenlieu is appropriated to the Bastard Sons of the Kings: I know not whether it began with the present Viceroy of Norway, or not; but it is likely to continue hereafter, and a young Guldenlieu will become as necessary an Ornament to the Court, as an Heir of the Crown.

The fecond of the King's Sons, by the Countess of Samsoe, is designed for the Sea; and to that End has been sent several Voyages in a Man of War, under the Direction of a trusty Person, in order to fit him to be one day Admiral-General.

His High Excellency, Count Guldenlieu, Viceroy of Norway, and Natural Brother to the King, will be more properly mentioned here, as one of the Royal Family, than when we come to speak of the Ministers; for the he be one of them, yet he cares not to embark himself deep in the Publick Assairs, having formerly, in some Occurrences, burnt his Fingers; he thinks it Wisdom rather to enjoy his Divertisements, and the Favour of the King, which he now firmly possesses. His Father, King Frederick, loved him so well,

well, that he once thought of making him King of Norway; which has been remembered to his Prejudice, and obliges him to carry himself with great Care under a Government so arbitrary as this is. He is about fifty-fix Years of Age, has been one of the handsomest, and continues one of the finest Gentlemen that Denmark has produced; having, to his natural Accomplishments, added all the Advantages of Travel, and Knowledge of the World. He is a Man of Pleafure, and understands it in all its Refinements; his Palace, his Gardens, his Entertainments, Manner of accosting, &c. excelling by many Degrees any thing that can be found elfewhere in that Kingdom. He was formerly Ambaffador Extraordinary from King Frederick his Father to King Charles the Second, who fhewed fuch a particular Esteem for him, that he made him the Partner of his Pleasures. And this is returned by fo deep a Sense of that King's Kindness, that he scarce ever mentions his Name without great Concern. He speaks a little English, and is very obliging to any Person that belongs to this Country, in Gratitude for the great Civilities he received here.

The King of Denmark's Court, as to Pomp and Magnificence, can hardly be called a Royal one; the Luxury and Extravagance of the more Southern Courts of Europe having not reached thus far North, no more than their Riches. It is true indeed, fince their good Correspondence with France, their Manners are somewhat refined above what they formerly were; they affect French Modes, French Servants, and French Officers in the Army; whereof they have one Lieutenant General, and one Major General, who have quitted France for fighting Duels there. And this

is either really true, or at least the Pretence of fuch as feek Service in Foreign Countries on purpose to do the Business of France; whose Interest they always cultivate industriously, tho' they feem never fo much in difgrace with their Prince.

In this Court no Enfigns of Majesty appear, let the Occasion be never so solemn, except such as are Military: All those which a standing Army can afford, fuch as Horse and Foot Guards, Trabands, which answer our Beef-eaters, Kettle-Drums, and Trumpets, &c. are there in Perfection, and used every Day as much as in a Camp: But Badges of Peace, viz. Sword of State, Heralds, Maces, Chancellor's Purfe, &c. are not known.

The King fits down to Dinner with his Queen, Children, Relations, prime Ministers, and General Officers of the Army, till the round Table be filled. The Court Mareschal invites whom he thinks fit to eat with the King, speaking sometimes to one, fometimes to another, till all have had their Turns in that Honour. A Page in Livery fays Grace before and after Meat; for no Chaplain appears either here or in any other of the Protestant Courts abroad, but in the Pulpit. There is a plentiful Table; but the Meat dreffed after their own Manner. The King's particular Diet, every Day, is a Loin of roafted Veal, and his Drink Rhenish-Wine; whereof a Silver Beakerfull flands at every one's Plate, which generally ferves for the whole Meal. The Attendants are one or two Gentlemen, and the rest Livery Ser-No Ceremony of the Knee is used to the vants. The Kettle-Drums and Trumpets, which King. are ranged in a large Place before the Palace, proclaim aloud the very Minute when he fits down to Table. Sunday is his Fasting-day, and by his Example is fo to many of the Courtiers. Court-times.

Court-times, wherein those that have Business may most easily have Audience, are an Hour before Dinner constantly, and sometimes before Supper. At such Times the King's Children, Domestick and Foreign Ministers, Officers of the Army and Houshold, appear in the Antichamber and Bedchamber: These compose the Court, and seldom amount to above the Number of twenty or thirty. Few or no Gentlemen, that have not Employments, are seen at Court, or in

Copenhagen, for Reasons formerly given.

The Officers of the Houshold are, The Marshal, who regulates the Affairs of the Family, and gives the King Notice when Dinner or Supper is ready: The Comptroller of the Kitchen, who places the Dishes of Meat upon the Table, and is likewise Master of the Ordnance: The Master of the Horse, who looks after the King's Stables, and Studs of Mares, whereof the King has very many, and very good, especially those of one Breed particular to him, which are light Iron-Grey, with black Heads, Tails, and Mains. But one forms a nearer Idea of the Grandeur and Revenue belonging to these feveral Offices, by imagining them like the fame in the Families of some of our English Noblemen, rather than of those belonging to Whitehall.

The Master of the Ceremonies is obliged by his Employment to be a constant Attender at

Court.

But the principal Favourite of the King is Monsieur Knute, a Mecklenburger, and only Gentleman of the Bedchamber. He has been bred up all along with the King, as his Confident and Companion in his Pleasures; is a civil well-natur'd Gentleman, speaks no Language but his own, and loves least of all the French; meddles rarely

with

with publick Business, yet when he undertakes any thing with the King, seldom fails of Success. There are several Grooms of the Bedchamber subordinate to him. And the Queen has many Gentlemen, Sons of Persons of the best Quality, which are Attendants upon her, and eight Maids of Honour.

The King's Ministers are, first, Monsieur de Guldenlieu, who has the Precedence at the Council-Board, and in all other Commissions where he is employed with the rest; but Business, as I intimated before, being not his Talent, or at least not his Choice, it is rather out of respect to his Quality, than otherwise, that he is reckoned

among them.

Secondly, Count Raventlau, Great Master of the Game, which is the Employment of greatest Profit in the King's Gift, after the Viceroyship of Norway: He is a Native of Holftein, and is look'd upon as Prime Minister; therefore all Foreign Ministers address themselves to him. He takes it not ill to be stiled so; tho' he seems upon some Occasions modestly to decline it. He is very affable, civil, and of eafy Access; a Man of Pleafure, and an Admirer of the fair Sex, as well as Monsieur de Guldenlieu: His Parts and Learning are of a moderate Size; tho' of late, through a more diligent Application to Business, he be much improved; fo that he feems to fill worthily enough the Post wherein his Master has placed him. He is about three and forty Years of Age. his Complexion fair, and his Constitution robust; his Inclinations were but indifferent towards the French (as being convinced that the low Ebb of his Country's Prosperity, and his Master's Honour, were in a great Meafure owing to their Counsels and Practices) till within this Year or

two, that private Interest has reconciled him to that Court. The Benefit of the French Traffick during this War (wherein he is deeply concerned, as well by feveral Ships of his own, as by giving Protection to others that manage that Trade) has made him think that it is his Mafter's Advantage, as well as his, to keep firm Friendship with On the other hand, the English obstructing that Traffick, by taking and confiscating feveral Ships wherein he was concerned, feem to have quite lost his Favour. Yet after all, 'tis believed, if he could procure the fame or equivalent Advantages for himself and his Master, his Inclinations would more willingly lead him to accept of them from England than France; but the unhappy Circumstances of this present Conjun-Eture do render that Matter scarce possible.

Thirdly, Baron Juel, younger Brother to the Admiral-General, and a Dane by Birth, about fixty Years old; he is very corpulent, and of a flegmatick Complexion; more eafy in his Fortunes than any about Court, which is in part owing to his remarkable parfimonious Temper. The Danes look on him as one of the cunningest Men among them, who under the Difguise of a feeming Simplicity covers a great deal of Craft. His Words are very few and fmooth, and his Behaviour civil. It is thought that he fees with Regret the Mifery his Country is reduced to, as being one of the Stock of old Nobility, who have fuffered by the Change of the Constitution: Yet his Advice cannot be wanted, where there is fuch a Scarcity of good Heads; and therefore he is employed in all difficult Affairs, which he manages with great Dexterity and Success.

Fourthly, Monsieur Ebrenschild, a German by Birth, and formerly Secretary to Monsieur Terlon

the French Ambassador at this Court, which makes him French in his Inclinations to this Day. The King ennobled him, and gave him the Name of Ebrenschild, instead of that of Beerman, by which he was formerly known. He is about 65 Years old, of a weakly Constitution, and therefore most commonly refides at Hamburg, under pretence that the Air is necessary for his Health; but in reality to manage the King's Affairs with that Town; wherein is constantly maintained a Faction, which must have Life kept in it by the Residence of a Minister of Quality. Moreover, that City being conveniently feated for the Correspondence with all Germany, from whence a nearer Infpection may be made into the Proceedings of the neighbouring Princes, as well as the Management of the French Traffick during this War, it is thought necessary to keep an able Man there. This Monsieur Ebrenschild has been bred a Scholar after the German Way, and is well skill'd in negotiating; wherein he has been constantly employed fince he first enter'd into Business. He is esteemed a cunning Man, but has no great Reputation of Integrity; he affects to find out Difficulties, and is excellently skill'd in prolonging a Business. The Foreign Ministers call him by the Name of Pater Difficultatum, and fay that he has a peculiar Knack in finding nodum in Therefore they care not for treating with him, because he values Argumentation, and seeks Sophisms rather than Truth, or the Decision of the Matter. You can never bring him to fay fuch a thing is, though it be as clear as the Sun; but cela peut être; thereby leaving always a Hole open to creep out at. He hoards up all his Money, or puts it into the Banks of Hamburg and Amsterdam, having small Prospect of a future happy Establishment

Establishment for his Family in Denmark. And this is the common Maxim of all the most intelligent Heads in that Kingdom, as appears by their

making few or no Purchases.

Fifthly, Monsieur Plessen, a Gentleman of Mecklenburg, and formerly the Manager of Prince George's Revenue in Denmark. He is now the Ober-Rent Master, or Comptroller of the Finances, in the Room of Monsieur Branat, lately removed from that Employment. The State of the Finances and Expences were very much embroiled, and the King some Millions of Crowns in Debt, when he undertook the difficult Task of fetting Things right; which it is generally thought he will accomplish as far as they are capable: And 'twas high time to fet feriously about redreffing Affairs, for the King's Credit both at Hamburg, and every where elfe, was in a manner absolutely lost, through the ill Payment of all Affignments. He is about Six and forty Years old, of a melancholy Complexion, and weakly Constitution; is esteemed to have a good Judgment, and to understand the World; tho' his Distempers make him fometimes particular in his He speaks four or five Languages, Humour. and English among the reft. His Inclinations feem to be rather English than French; as well on the Account of his Dependence on Prince George, as because he is convinced 'tis more the Interest of his Master to be well with England and Holland, than with France. He appears to be difinteressed, and is very eafy in his Fortunes, which confift most in ready Money. In short, he is a Man of Business, and feems to be more downright in his manner of dealing than many of the reft.

These Five compose the King's whole Privy Council. Four of them are constantly at Court,

and the fifth at Hamburg; by the weekly Advices of whom the others do for the most part regulate

all their Deliberations.

The King in this Council determines all Affairs; deliberates of Peace or War, of Alliances, and other Treaties; of Taxes, Fortifications, Trade, &c. without the Intervention of any other Perfon, unless it be the Secretaries of State; who are yet esteemed here rather as Ministerial Officers and Affiftants, than principal Counfellors. are four of these Secretaries, that are not Secretaries of State in the Sense that ours in England are, that is to fay, Prime Ministers; but carry the Pen, and have the Management of the Bufiness relating to their several Provinces. The first is the Secretary for the Affairs of Denmark, and is at present Monsieur The fecond, for the Affairs of Norway, is Monsieur Mote, Brother to the King's Mistress the Countess of Samsoe. The third, for Foreign Affairs, is Monsieur Jessen; and the fourth, who is Secretary at War, is Monsieur Harboe. When any thing which concerns the Province of any of these is debated at Council, the Secretary it belongs to is to be present; but Monsieur Jessen never misses, because there is always Business relating to Foreign Affairs; and the usual Times of the sitting of the Council being after the Posts come in, his Employment is to read all the Letters, and to make This renders his Office more Remarks on them. confiderable than that of the other Secretaries, and makes him enter into the Secrets of the Cabinet, which pass for the most part through his sole Management. He has also Liberty to speak his Sentiments; and because he has been bred a Latin Scholar, that, as well as his Employment, entitles him to the penning of all Treaties with Foreign

Foreign Ministers. Therefore he is constantly one of the Commissioners appointed to treat with them; and to whom they are to have Recourse almost as necessarily as to the Prime Minister, who fuffers himself to be in a great measure guided by this Secretary. He is about forty, of a civil Behaviour and Humility, even to Affectation; speaks four or five Languages very well, and very much, whereby he fometimes gives Advantages to those that have Bufiness with him. He has but a moderate Reputation for Sincerity, or Parts; yet fo much used to the Road of Publick Affairs, that he cannot be wanted, because they have no fitter Man to put in his Place. He is Son-in-law to Monsieur Ebrenschild, by whom he is much governed, and of the fame Inclinations as to France. This Affinity is a great Support to his Fortune, as long as that old Gentleman lives; and his Diligence in his Employment, (if there were nothing else) will secure to him his Post and his Prince's Favour; provided always that he keep fair with the Prime Minister, (as at present he does) and act in Concert with him.

The ordinary Diversions of the Court are Progresses, which are made once a Year at least, to Sleswick, or Holstein, either to make a Review of some Troops, or to see the Fortistications at Rendsburg; besides smaller Journies to Laland, and elsewhere up and down the Country. These are of no Expence to the Treasury, because the travelling Waggons and Horses are sound by the Boors, who are also to pay their Personal Attendance, and be ready for all necessary Services. During sive or six Weeks every Summer, the Court removes to Jagersburg, a small Hunting House, situated upon a little Lake within sour English Miles of Copenhagen, and not far from

the Sea: And for five or fix Weeks more it refides at Fredericksburg, the chief Country Palace of the Kings of Denmark, about twenty English Miles from Copenhagen, begun by Christian the Fourth. and finished by this King's Father, Frederick the Third: This is that House which the Danes boast fo much of, and tell Wonders of the Quantity of Money it cost in building. It is feated in the midst of a Lake, the Foundations of it being laid in the Water, which probably occasioned the greatest part of the Expence; you pass into it over feveral Draw-Bridges. This watry Situation, in fo moift and cold a Country, cannot be approved by the Critical in Seats, especially when the rising Grounds about this Lake (which are cloathed with fine Woods) afforded much better Places both for Health and Prospect; but it is the Humour of all this Kingdom to build in the midst of Lakes; which I suppose was at first practised upon the score of Security. This Palace, notwithstanding the great Cost they talk of, is far from being magnificent, or well-contrived; for the Rooms are low, the Apartments ill-disposed, the fine Chapel much too long in proportion to its Breadth, and has a Gallery over it, which has one of the worst-contrived Entrances that can be imagined. In fine, it falls far short of many of our Noblemens Country Houses in England, yet is esteemed by the Danes as a None-fuch. There is indeed a fine Park about it well filled with Red Deer; having large Ponds, high Trees in great Quantity, a good Bathing House, and other Country Embellishments; fo that it is by far to be preferred to all the rest of the King's Houses, which, except these two last mentioned, are for the most part out of Repair: That of the Fortress of Cronenburg near Elsinore, and of Coldingen in Jutland, with others, K 2 being

being scarce habitable, even during one Fortnight,

in the Summer Quarter.

At Fredericksburg the Court spends most of its Time in Stag-hunting, for there are few Fallow-Deer in Denmark; during which Sport the King allows great Freedom to his Domesticks and Minifters, who commonly do all accompany him wherever he goes; infomuch that he feems to lay aside all Majesty, and the Formalities of it, for that Season: They eat and drink together, the latter fometimes to Excess, after a hard Day's hunting; when as foon as Dinner is done, they adjourn to the Wine-Cellar. About five or fix in the Afternoon the Hunting Affizes are folemnly held in the great Court before the Palace; the Stag is drawn into the midst of it by the Huntsmen, who are all cloathed in Red, having their great Brass Hunting-horns about their Necks; and 'tis there broken up with great Ceremony, whilft the Hounds attend with much Noise and Impatience. One that is likelieft to give a good Gratuity to the Huntfmen, is invited to take Essay, and presented with the Deer's Foot. Then Proclamation is made, if any can inform the King (who is both Supreme Judge and Executioner) of any Transgression against the known Laws of Hunting that Day committed, let him stand forth and accuse: The Accused is generally found guilty; and then two of the Gentlemen lead him to the Stag, and make him kneel down between the Horns, turning down his Head with his Buttocks up, and remove the Skirts of his Coat, which might intercept the Blows; then comes his Majesty, and with a small long Wand gives the Offender some Lashes on his Posteriors, whilst in the mean time the Huntsmen with their Brass Horns, and the Dogs with their loud Openings, proclaim the King's Justice, and the Criminal's Punishment:

Punishment: The whole Scene affording Diverfion to the Queen, Ladies, and other Spectators, who are always affifting, and stand in a Circle about the Place of Execution. This is as often repeated as there happen to be Delinquents; who as soon as the Chastisement is over, rise up and make their Obeisance,

of their magnificent Rib-roasting. Hudib.

After all is done, the Hounds are permitted to fall to, and eat the Deer.

At another Seafon, Swan-hunting is the Royal The wild Swans haunt a certain fmall Island not far from Copenhagen, and breed there: About the Time that the Young ones are near as big as the Old, before their Feathers are grown long enough to fly, the King, with the Queen, Ladies, and others of the Court, go to the killing of them; the Foreign Ministers are usually invited to take part in this Sport: Every Person of Condition has a Pinnace allotted to him; and when they come near the Haunt, they furround the Place, and inclose a great Multitude of young Swans, which they destroy with Guns till they have killed fome Thousands. What is killed by the whole Company is brought to the Court, which challenges the Feathers and Down of thefe Birds, the Flesh of them being good for nothing.

On Shrove-Tuesdays the King, Queen, Royal Family, Home and Foreign Ministers, and all others Persons above mentioned, that usually compose the Court, cloath themselves in the Habit of the North-Holland Boors, with great Trunkhose, short Doublets, and large blue Thrum-Caps; the Ladies in blue Petticoats, and odd Head-dresses, &c. Thus accounted they get up

K 3

in their Waggons, a Man before and a Woman behind, which they drive themselves, and go to a Country Village called Amak, about three English Miles from Town; there they dance to Bagpipes, and squeaking Fiddles, and have a Country Dinner, which they eat out of earthen and wooden Platters, with wooden Spoons, &c. and having passed the Day in these Divertisements, where all are equal, and little Regard had to Majesty, or other Quality, at Night they drive in like manner home again; and are entertained at a Comedy and magnificent Supper by the Viceroy Guldenlieu; spending the Remainder of the Night in Dancing in the same Habits, which they put not off all that Day.

Every Winter, as foon as the Snow is firm enough to bear, the Danes take great delight in going in Sleds; the King and Court first giving the Example, and making several Tours about the Town in great Pomp, with Kettle-Drums and Trumpets; the Horses which draw the Sleds being richly adorned with Trappings, and Harness full of small Bells, to give Warning to such as stand in the Way. After the Court has been abroad, the Burghers and others trot about the Streets all Night, wrapt up in their Fur Gowns, with each his Female in the Sled with him; and this they esteem a great and pleasant

Pastime.

In travelling to Fredericksburg, Jagersburg, and many other Places from Copenbagen, there are two Highways; one the common Road, which is usually bad; the other the King's Highway, very fair and even, peculiar to the Court, and such as it has a mind to favour in bestowing on them a Key to open the several Gates that are upon it.

In

In this Chapter of the Court, it will not be improper to take notice that there are in *Denmark* two Orders of Knighthood, viz. that of the Elephant, and that of Dannebrug; the former is very honourable, and the Companions of it are of the highest Quality, or extraordinary Merit. Their Badge is an Elephant with a Castle on its Back, fet with Diamonds, and hung on a watered Sky-coloured Ribband, worn as the George is in The latter is the honorary Reward of inferior Gentlemen or Noblemen; their Badge is a white Ribband with red Edges, worn over the contrary Shoulder with a fmall Crofs of Diamonds hung to it, and an Embroidery on the Breast of their Coats like a Star, in which is the Motto, Pietate & Justitia. They say that the Order of the Elephant was inflituted about Two hundred and ten Years ago by King Christian the First, at the Wedding of his Son.

A List of the present Companions of it follows.

The King, Sovereign of the Order,

THE Prince Royal.
Prince Christian.

Prince Charles.

Prince George.

The King of Sweden.

Elector of Brandenburg.

Elector of Saxony.

Viceroy Guldenlieu.

Duke of Holstein.

Duke of Holstein his Brother.

Landgrave of Hesse.

Count Rantzaw of Bredenburg.

Duke of Holstein Ploen.

Duke of Holstein Norburg.

Duke of Holstein Brieg. Landgrave of Hesse Hombourg. Markgrave of Anspach. Markgrave of Baden Durlach. Duke of Ooftfrize. Duke of Saxe Cobourg. Prince Frederick of Saxe. Duke of Wirtemberg. The Mareschal Count Wedell. Count Raventlau. Count Alefeldt. Admiral General Juel. Baron Juel. Justin Hoeg Under-Viceroy of Norway. Godtske van Buckvalt, a Gentleman of Holstein. Monsieur de Ginkle, Earl of Athlone.

They pretend that the Order of Dannebrug is more ancient, and recount many Fables of its Original, viz. That one King Dan faw a white Crofs with red Edges descend from Heaven, and thereupon instituted the Order, and gave it this compound Name, from Dan, and Brug, which signifies Painting. The Knights of this Order are almost as common here, as Baronets with us, and therefore I omit their Names.

The following Ordinance for Rank and Precedency was published in Danish and French, Anno 1680. But most of the Offices therein marked \* are now vacant.

# ORDONNANCE

Pour les RANGS du Royaume de DANEMARC.

I.

ES Enfans naturels des Rois.

#### II.

1. \* Le Grand Chancelier.

2. \* Le Grand Tresorier, dit Schatz-meister.

3. \* Le Grand Connétable de Norwegue.

4. \* Le General Marêchal de Camp.

5. Le General Admiral.

6. Les Comtes qui sont Conseillers Privez.

7. Les

#### AN

# ORDINANCE

For Rank and Precedency in the Kingdom of DENMARK.

THE Kings natural Children.

#### II.

1. \* The High Chancellor.

2. \* The High Treasurer, call'd Schatz-meister.

3. \* The High Constable of Norway. 4. \* The Marshal de Camp General.

5. The Admiral General.

6. The Counts who are Privy-Counfellors.

7. The

7. Les Chevaliers de l'Elephant qui sont Conseillers Privez, ou qui tiennent même rang avec eux.

8. \* Les autres Connétables.

9. Le Vice-Chancelier.

10. \* Le Vice-Tresorier.

11. Les Vice-Connétables.

12. Les autres Conseillers Privez.

#### III.

- 1. \* Le Grand Maistre de l'Artillerie.
- 2. \* Le Grand Marêchal Lieutenant.

3. Le General Admiral Lieutenant.

4. Les Generaux de Cavalerie & d'Infanterie.

5. Les Generaux Lieutenants de Cavalerie & d'Infanterie.

#### IV.

1. Les Comtes qui sont faits Comtes, ou naturalisez par le Roy. 2. Les

- 7. The Knights of the *Elephant* who are Privy-Counfellors, or hold the fame Rank with them.
- 8. \* The other Constables.
- 9. The Vice-Chancellor.
- 10. \* The Vice-Treasurer.
- 11. The Vice-Constables.
- 12. The other Privy-Counfellors.

#### III.

- 1. \* The Great Master of the Ordnance.
- 2. \* The Great Lieutenant Marshal.
- 3. The Lieutenant General Admiral.

4. The Generals of Cavalry and Infantry.

5. The Lieutenants General of Cavalry and Infantry.

#### IV.

1. The Counts who are created Counts, or naturalized by the King.

2. The

2. Les Barons qui sont faits Barons, ou naturalisez par le Roy; & ensuite les Chevaliers de Dannebrug, ou Cordons Blancs.

#### V.

1. \* Le Grand Marêchal de la Cour.

- 2. \* Le Premier Secretaire Privé, & d'Etat.
- 3. Le Premier Gentilbomme de la Chambre.
- 4. Le Grand Maistre des Ecuries.

5. Le Grand Veneur.

6. \* Le Grand Echanson.

#### VI.

1. Les Conseillers d'Etat.

2. Les Conseillers de la Justice.

3. Les Commandeurs des Dioceses, & le Tresorier.

VII.

2. The Barons who are created Barons, or naturalized by the King. And after them, the Knights of Dannebrug, or of the White Ribband.

#### V

1. \* The Great Marshal of the Court.

- 2. \* The first Privy Secretary, and Secretary of State.
- 3. The first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber.
- 4. The Great Master of the Horse.

5. The Great Huntsman.

6. \* The Great Cup-Bearer.

#### VI.

1. The Counfellors of State.

2. The Counfellors of Justice.

3. The Commanders of Dioceses, and the Treafurer.

VII.

#### VII.

- 1. Les Generaux Majors, les Admiraux, le General Commissaire de l'Armée, les Colonels des Gardes du Corps ou Trabans.
- 2. Les Brigadiers.
- 3. Le Marêchal de la Cour.

#### VIII.

- 1. Les Conseillers de la Chancellerie. Les Envoyez Extraordinaires du Roy, & le Maistre des Ceremonies.
- 2. Les Conseillers de la Chambre des Comptes, le Procureur General.
- 3. Les Conseillers de Guerre.
- 4. Les Conseillers de l'Admirauté.
- 5. Les Conseillers de Commerce.

IX.

#### VII.

- 1. The Majors General, the Admirals, the Commissary General of the Army, the Colonels of the Life-Guards or Trabants.
- 2. The Brigadiers.
- 3. The Marshal of the Court.

#### VIII.

- I. The Counsellors of the Chancery, the King's Envoys Extraordinary, and the Master of the Ceremonies.
- 2. The Counfellors of the Chamber of Accompts, the Attorney General.
- 3. The Counfellors of War.
- 4. The Counfellors of the Admiralty.
- 5. The Counsellors of Trade.

#### IX.

I. Le Sur-Intendant de Seeland.

2. Le Confesseur du Roy.

3. Le Recteur de l'Academie, l'année qu'il est Recteur; le President de la Ville de Copenhague.

#### X.

- 1. Les Colonels des Regimens des Gardes à Cheval & à Pied, les Vice-Admiraux, les Colonels de l'Artillerie.
- 2. Les autres Colonels de Cavalerie ou d'Infanterie.
- 3. Les Lieutenans Colonels des Gardes du Corps ou Trabans, & après eux les Bailliffs.

#### XI.

- 1. Les Gentilsbommes de la Chambre du Roy & de la Reine.
- 2. Le Maistre de l'Ecurie.

3. Le

#### IX.

1. The Superintendant of Zealand

2. The King's Confessor.

3. The Rector of the Academy for the time being; the Prefident of the City of Copenbagen.

#### X

- Foot Guards, the Vice-Admirals, the Colonels of the Artillery.
- 2. The other Colonels of Horse and Foot.
- 3. The Lieutenant-Colonels of the Life-Guards or Trabants, and after them the Bailiffs.

#### XI.

- 1. The Gentlemen of the King and Queen's Bed-Chamber.
- 2. The Master of the Horse.

3. The

3. Le Veneur du Roy.

4. Le Secretaire de la Chambre du Roy.

5. Le Secretaire de la Milice.

6. Le Grand Payeur.

#### XII.

- 1. Les Assesseurs de la baute Justice; les Conseillers d'Assistance en Norwegue, & les Sur-Intendans des autres Provinces.
- 2. Les Juges Provinciaux.

#### XIII.

- 1. Les Generaux Auditeurs, les Maistres Generaux des Quartiers.
- 2. Les Lieutenans Colonels, Scout-by-nachts, & Majors des Gardes du Corps ou Trabans.

XIV.

3. The King's Huntsman.

4. The Secretary of the King's Chamber.

5. The Secretary of the Militia.

6. The chief Pay-Master.

#### XII.

- 1. The Affistants of the High Court of Judicature, the Affistant Counsellors in Norway, and the Super-Intendants of the other Provinces.
- · 2. The Provincial Judges.

#### XIII.

- 1. The Auditors General, the Quarter-Masters General.
- 2. The Lieutenant-Colonels, Rear-Admirals, and Majors of the Life-Guards or Trabants.

#### XIV.

1. Les Assesseurs de la Chancelerie, & de la Justice de la Cour de Norwegue.

2. Les Assesseurs du Consistoire, les Bourgmeisters de

Copenhague, & le Medecin du Roy.

3. Les Assesseurs de la Chambre des Comptes, & après eux les Commissaires des Provinces.

4. Les Affesseurs du College de Guerre.

5. Les Assesseurs du College de l'Admirauté.

6. Les Assesseurs du Collège de Commerce.

#### XV.

Les Maistres de Cuisine, les Gentilshommes de la Cour, les Generaux Adjutans, les Majors, les Capitaines des Gardes à Cheval, les Capitaines Commandeurs des Vaisseaux.

XVI.

#### XIV.

I. The Affistants of the Chancery, and of the Court of Justice in Norway.

2. The Affistants of the Consistory, the Burgo-masters of Copenhagen, and the King's Physician.

- 3. The Affistants of the Chamber of Accompts, and after them the Commissaries of the Provinces.
- 4. The Affiftants of the Court-Marshal.

5. The Affistants of the Court of Admiralty.

6. The Affistants of the Commissioners of Trade.

#### XV.

The Masters of the Kitchen, the Gentlemen of the Court, the Adjutants General, the Majors, the Captains of the Horse-Guards, the Captains of Men of War.

XVI.

#### XVI.

1. Les Secretaires de la Chancelerie, & de la Justice.

2. Le Secretaire de la Chambre des Comptes.

3. Le Secretaire du College de Guerre.

4. Le Secretaire de l' Admirauté.

5. Le Secretaire du Commerce.

Il y a à observer que quand plusieurs charges sont nommées ensemble, & qu'elles ne sont pas distinguées de quelque numero à part, ils prendront le rang en-

tre eux selon qu'ils sont premiers en charge.

Les Ministres du Roy qui possedent quelques charges qui ne sont pas nommées dans cette Ordonnance, retiendront le même rang qu'ils ont eu jusques icy; & ceux à qui le Roy a déja donné ou donnera le rang de Conseiller Privé, joüiront du même rang que s'ils l'étoient effectivement.

Ceux

#### XVI.

1. The Secretaries of the Chancery, and of the Court of Justice.

2. The Secretary of the Chamber of Accompts.

3. The Secretary of the Court-Marshal.

4. The Secretary of the Admiralty.

5. The Secretary of Trade.

It must be observed that when several Persons in Office are named together, and are not distinguished by a separate Figure, they take place among themselves according to the Date of their Commissions.

The King's Ministers who hold Offices that are not mentioned in this Ordinance, shall keep the same Rank they have hitherto enjoyed; and those to whom the King has given, or shall give, the Title of Privy Counsellors, shall have the same Rank as if they were really and effectually such.

They

Ceux qui possedent effectivement quelques charges, auront le rang avant ceux qui en ont seulement le

titre, & ne font point de fonction.

Ceux que le Roy dispense de ne plus exercer leurs charges, retiendront pourtant le même rang qu'ils avoient eu exerçant leurs charges; & si quelqu'un prend une autre charge de moindre rang que sa premiere n'étoit, il retiendra pourtant le rang de la premiere.

Les Femmes se regleront ainsi: Après les Comtesses suivront les Gouvernantes, & Demoiselles de la Chambre, & de la Cour, pendant qu'elles sont en service; après elles les Femmes de Conseillers Privez, & de ceux qui tiennent rang avec eux; ensuite les Baronesses à autres Femmes selon la condition de leurs maris, tant de leur vivant qu'après leur mort, pendant qu'elles demeurent veuves.

They who actually exercise an Office, shall have the Precedency before such as have only the

Title of it, and do not officiate.

They whom the King dispenses with from exercising their Offices, shall yet keep the same Rank they had when they actually exercised them; and if any one takes another Office of an inferior Rank to that he had, he shall nevertheless hold the Rank of the former.

The Precedency with respect to Women shall be thus: After the Countesses follow the Governesses, and Ladies of the Bedchamber, and of the Court, while they are in Waiting: Next come the Wives of Privy-Counsellors, and of such as have the same Rank with them: Afterwards the Baronesses, and other Wives, according to the Rank of their Husbands when living, and also after their Deaths while they continue Widows.

L The

La Noblesse qui n'a point de charge, & les Capitaines de Cavalerie & d'Infanterie, & autres persones ecclesiastiques & seculieres, tiendront le pas entre

eux comme ils ont fait auparavant.

Sur quoy tous auront à se regler sous peine de la perte de la faveur Royale. Et si contre toute esperance il se trouve quelqu'un qui de sa propre authorité sasse quelque chose contre cette Ordonnance, il payera tout aussi-tôt qu'il sera convaincu d'un tel crime l'amende de mille Reichs-Thalers; & outre, sera poursuivi par le General Fiscal du Roy, comme violateur des Ordres Royaux.

Fait à Copenhague, le 31 Decembre 1680.

The Noblesse [Nobility and Gentry] who have no Offices, and the Captains of the Horse and Foot, and other Persons ecclesiastical and secular, shall hold among themselves the same Rank they

did formerly.

To these Regulations all Persons are to conform, on pain of forfeiting the Royal Favour. And if, contrary to all Expectation, any one should, of his own Authority, act or do any thing contrary to this Ordinance, he shall immediately, after being convicted of such Crime, pay a Fine of One thousand Rix-Dollars; and moreover be prosecuted by the King's Attorney-General, as a Transgressor of His Majesty's Royal Orders.

Given at Copenhagen, December 31, 1680.

### CHAP. XII.

The Disposition and Inclinations of the King of Denmark towards his Neighbours.

THE Kingdoms and States which border upon the King of Denmark, are, towards the North and North-east, the Territories belonging to Sweden; towards the South, the Duke of Holstein's Part of Sleswick and Holstein, the City of Hamburg, and the Dutchy of Bremen: Towards the West and South-west, England and Scotland; which are separated from them by the main Ocean: Towards the South-east the Dukedoms of Saxe Lawenburg, of Mecklenburg, and of Lunenburg. The Dominions of Brandenburg, &c. lie also this way not far distant from them.

Between the King of Denmark, and most of these Neighbours, it may be said in general, that there always is a reciprocal Jealousy and Distrust, which often breaks out into open Hostilities; with those nearer more frequently, with the remoter more seldom, according as the Occasions of

Quarrel or Revenge do happen.

ENGLAND.] The Interposition of a vast Ocean has hitherto kept the Danes in pretty good Terms with England and Scotland, and the Trade they have with those Kingdoms is very considerable to them. Their maritime Forces are in no measure sufficient to cope with us and others concern'd, otherwise they have had a good mind to challenge the sole Right of the Groenland Whale-

fishing; as pretending that Country to be a Difcovery of theirs, and therefore to belong to them.

Since the prefent Wars with France, and our strict Union with the Hollanders, they have shewn themselves extreme jealous of our Greatness at Sea, fearing left we should ingross and command the whole Trade of the World; therefore have favoured France on all Occasions as much as they durst, furnishing it with Naval Stores and other Commodities which it wants. And for this Reason (notwithstanding their Scarcity of Money) they will hardly be perfuaded either to lend or fell any more Forces to the Con-Neither is it to be doubted, but that federates. as well to keep the Balance of the Sea-Power even, as to fecure the Liberty of their Commerce, which brings them in great Gains, they will leave no Stone unturned to do us a Mischief, in order to humble us to fuch a Degree as may put them out of fears that we shall give Law to the Ocean. To this End they have entred into stricter Alliances with Sweden of late, for a mutual Vindication of open Commerce, than the natural Animosities between those Northern Crowns did feem to admit of; but the present apparent Neceffity of restraining within Bounds our growing united Power at Sea, works more prevalently with them both, than the ancient Hatred which they retain for each other; and which may break out again, as foon as they are out of fear of us.

SWEDEN.] For Sweden is the most powerful, most dreaded, and nearest Neighbour of Denmark; the Territories of that King lie as it were at the Gates of Copenhagen, the Capital City, and may be seen from the very Bedchamber of this King, ever since the Danes lost three of their best Provinces on the other Side the Baltick: So that as well the Resentment of past Injuries, as the

Dread

Dread of future Mischies from the Greatness of Sweden, on the one Side; the Consciousness of being violent Poffeffors of another's Right, the Certainty of their being hated and envied for those Acquisitions, the Fear of losing them in case Denmark grow powerful, on the other; are unfurmountable Obstacles to any firm Friendship between these two Crowns. The ancient Quarrel, like a Wound ill healed, is but fkinned over, and festers at the Bottom; although our equally difobliging them in the Interruption of their Traffick, has made a greater Step towards their mutual Reconciliation, than was thought to be pra-Eticable. But whenever we please to cares the one at the Expence of the other, this feeming Knot will discover the Weakness of its Contexture, and probably diffolve of itself.

Neither is the Alliance, by the King of Sweden's having married the other's Sifter, of any Moment towards a good Correspondence, but rather the contrary.\* The King of Sweden, tho' a very virtuous Prince, shews Coldness and Indifference enough (upon this Account, as it is thought) towards his Queen, who is a very accomplished Princes; and either has, or thinks he has, Reason to avoid a further matrimonial Tie with the Dane: Therefore he chose rather to contract his only Daughter with the young Prince of Holstein Gottorp, whose Estates are in a manner wasted and ruined, than with the Prince Royal of Denmark; for having but one Son, in case of whose Death this Daughter would be Heiress of his Crown, he thinks it not Prudence to leave it to fo near a Hazard and Probability, that the Dane may be one day Master of both Kingdoms.

L 3 Upon

<sup>\*</sup> Que apud concordes vincula caritatis, incitamenta irarum apud infensos erant. Tacit. lib. 1. Annal.

Upon the Foundation of this mutual Jealoufy are built the Friendships and Enmities which each of them (but especially Denmark) have with most of their other Neighbours, and the rest of the German Princes. And upon this Account it is principally that the Animosity is so great between this Crown and the Princes of LUNENBURG; with whom, on the contrary, the Swede has always kept a good Correspondence, that upon Occasion of any Attack made on his Territories in the Circle of Lower Saxony, or in Pomerania, (which are looked upon by the rest of the German Princes with an evil Eye) he may fecure to himfelf the Affistance of that powerful Family against the Dane or Brandenburger; therefore the Neighbourhood of the Lunenburg Princes will always be grievous to, and suspected by Denmark, which will obstruct by all Means it can, the Accessions either of Territories or Honours to that Family. So that it is not to be supposed that the Dane will quietly fit down with the Duke of Zell's thrusting himself into the Possession of the Dutchy of Saxe Lawenburg, which borders immediately upon Holstein; nor with the Determination of the Imperial Diet in Favour of the Ninth Electorate conferred on the Duke of Hanover. On the other hand it is thought that the Swede, in order to the further curbing of Denmark, will uphold the Lunenburg Family in its Acquisitions; in the Matter of the Electorate openly and above-board; in the other of Saxe Lawenburg fecretly, because of the Invalidity of the Title of that Family to that Dutchy; which feems to be no longer good, than it can be maintained by Force or Connivence.

HAMBURG.] The Princes of Lunenburg have also hitherto seconded the Swedes Intentions, in being the Guardians of Hamburg, upon which City the King of Denmark casts a long-

ing Look, and has made frequent Attempts. His Pretensions to it, as Part of his Dutchy of Holltein, are none of the weakest; but his Arms and Counfels, in order to the Reduction of it under his Power, have been unsuccessful. He encourages his new Town of Altena (which is built close under its Walls) as a Rival, and which one day may be a Curb to it. in truth, this rich City has great Reason to be jealous of fuch a Neighbour, whose chiefest Ambition is to destroy its Liberty, and render himfelf its Master. But the Duke of Zell (whose Territories lie next) has always some Forces posted near enough to prevent the King of Denmark's Defigns upon it; therefore this City pays a great deal of Respect to those Princes, whom it looks on as its best Protectors. With the other German Princes it keeps also as good a Correspondence as possible; and they on their Part shew an Affection to the Liberty of that City, the Reduction of which, under the Power of the Danes, would be extremely inconvenient to them, as well upon the Score of the Trade of great part of Germany, whereof it is the Seat and principal Mart by its convenient Situation on the River Elbe; as upon the Score of the great Addition fuch a Conquest would make to the Power of the Danes; who are usually ill Neighbours when they are weak, but would be insupportable were their Force proportionable to their Inclinations.

BRANDENBURG.] Nor would the Brandenburgers wish that this City, or the Town of Lubeck, should have any Master; but would endeavour to their utmost to frustrate Attempts upon them: And yet the Elector of Brandenburg is esteemed the sirmest Ally the King of Denmark has; for their common Interest to prevent the Greatness of the

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Swedes.

Swedes, (whereof they are equally jealous and fearful) unites these two Princes stronger than any Tie of Blood could do. The Ducal Prussia, and that Part of Pomerania which belongs to Brandenburg, lie open to the Swedes; and the least Transport of Forces from Sweden to Germany Side of the Baltick, gives a terrible Alarm to all the Neighbours. They cannot forget the strange Successes of Gustavus Adolphus, nor the Encroachments of Sweden in the late Wars; neither can they be otherwise perfuaded, but that there is always impending Danger of the like Attempts from the fame Nation, abounding in Soldiers, and ruled by a frugal, diligent, and active young King. So that, as I faid before, their common Danger makes them ftrangely concur in this Defign of keeping the Swede within his due Bounds, altho' in other Matters fome Difagreement may happen between them; as may be more particularly instanced in the Affair of St. Thomas's Island, and in the Brandenburgers Endeavours to force the Dane to a Restitution of the Duke of Holstein Gottorp to his Country; which was fo happily accomplished by his Majesty of Great Britain, the very first Year of his Exaltation to the Throne.

(whom I have purposely mentioned last of those Princes that confine with Denmark, that I may have an Opportunity to speak more amply concerning his Case) is nearly related to the King of Denmark, both by Consanguinity and Affinity. They are of the same Family of Oldenburg; the Ancestor of the present Duke resused the Kingdom of Denmark, in favour of the Ancestor of the King, whom he recommended to the People's Election. This Duke is married to the King's Sister, by whom

he has Issue a very hopeful Prince. His Territories are intermixt both in Slefwick and Holftein with the King's, but much to his Disquiet and Inconvenience; for Ambition knows no Bounds, especially when joined with Power fufficient to oppress a weak Opponent. The King thought it for his Interest (and that is esteemed Reason enough with most Princes) to be Master of the whole Country; which the Duke being fensible of, and convinced that the first convenient Opportunity would be taken to dispossess him; to secure himself, cultivated as ftrong a Friendship as he could with the King of Sweden his Brother-in-Law, and one who upon many Accounts was bound to hinder the Greatness of the Danes. Yet this Confederacy reached no farther, nor was ever intended to be made use of by the Duke otherwise, than as a Defensive Guard, the Reputation whereof might poffibly shelter him from Oppression. For the Duke was of himself much too weak to oppose the King. and the Succours of the Swede too far distant to frustrate a sudden Attempt, to which he lay constantly exposed. But in regard that at long-run this Alliance would stand him in greatest stead, (as he has found by Experience) it was always most carefully cherished and maintained on the Duke's part, and no less on the King's, who did, and ever will think it of great Advantage to him to uphold the Duke of Holstein in his lawful Rights; and no less detrimental to his Enemy; this Duke being the feverest Thorn in the Foot of the King of Denmark, and the greatest Mortification to him that can possibly be imagined; whom now of a near Kinfman and Brother, by his ill Usage he has made an utter Enemy, that (notwithstanding the present Composure of Differences) can neither trust him, nor be trusted by him.

For the better understanding of which, it will not be amis in another Chapter to give a short Account of the Proceedings in that whole Matter.

### CHAP. XIII.

The Manner of dispossessing and restoring the Duke of Holstein Gottorp.

THE Affairs between the King and Duke being on the Terms above mentioned, that is to fay, Ambition and Reason of State guiding the Designs of one Party, Fear and Weakness of the other, Hatred and Distrust of both; there seemed to be wanting nothing but a fair Opportunity to put in practice what had been long projected by the Danes, which at length happened in

the Year 1675.

Among other Differences which remained to be adjusted between the King and Duke, the Succession to the Counties of Oldenburg and Delmenborst was the greatest. This was at length left to the Determination of the Imperial Court; but whilft it was under Debate there, several Meetings between the Ministers of Denmark and those of Gottorp were appointed, in order to an amicable Composure of this and all other Quarrels; which Meetings were principally fought after by the King, with all the feeming Defires of Amity, and Appearances of Friendship imaginable, the better to lull the Duke into Security, and a Perfuafion of the Sincerity of his Intentions. times an Equivalent for the fole Possession of those Counties was proposed and hearkened to, and the whole

whole Matter feemed to want nothing but fair drawing up, and the Ratification. At other Times fresh Disputes arose touching the Taxes of the Dukedoms of Sleswick and Holstein, whereof the King challenged the greater Part to himfelf, in proportion to the Share of Forces which he maintained for Defence of the Country. On the other fide, the Duke infifted on it, that the Taxes ought equally to be divided; and if the King kept up more Troops than were necessary, that did not any way prejudice his Right to an equal Share of the Revenues, especially fince the King's Undertakings were managed neither with any previous Communication with, or Confent of the Duke; nor were agreed unto by the States of the Dukedom; both which by ancient Treaties ought to have been done. But this Ball was either kept up or let fall, according to the Circumstances of Affairs abroad, which the Danes had a watchful Eye upon, at the fame time that they treated with the Duke.

For the Swedes having taken the Part of France against the Empire, were at this Time engaged in a War with the Elector of Brandenburg. And the Danes, who had long since resolved to break with Sweden, thought no Time so proper as this to revenge their ancient Quarrel, and to regain their lost Provinces. But looking upon the Duke of Holstein as a Friend to Sweden, and a main Obstacle to their Intentions, they durst not march their Army out of the Country, till they had so ordered Matters as to apprehend no Danger from him.

A deep Diffimulation was necessary to the carrying on this Design upon the Swedes and House of Gottorp; and was made use of with so much Address, that the Swedish Ambassador, who was

then refiding at Copenhagen, and negotiating a Marriage for the King his Master with the Daughter of Denmark, was careffed in an extraordinary Manner, and treated with the greatest Demonstrations of Friendship possible: And at the fame Time the Prime Minister of Denmark wrote most obligingly to the Duke's Resident then at Hamburg, That he was ready to meet him half way, and would join Endeavours with him to adjust all Differences, and establish a firm Correspondence between their Masters, which he said he defired above all Things. He added moreover, That when willing Minds met together about the Composure of Differences, a few Hours would put an End to that which had been transacting many Years; and therefore conjured him to meet him. The King also did often declare himself to this Purpose to the Duke's Ministers, That he would acknowledge as a great Obligation conferred on him, the furthering an Accommodation between him and the Duke.

'Tis the Custom of the King of Denmark to make once a Year a Voyage into Holstein, where he affembles and takes a Review of his Troops. This is done not only upon the Score of Diverfion, and to fee that the Forces be in good Condition; but also to use the neighbouring Princes, and Hamburg, to fuch a Practice; that when they fee it performed feveral Years without any ill Confequence, or Attempts upon them, they may take the less Umbrage, and be less upon their Guard, whenever he should have any real Defign. About this time the King was beginning fuch a Journey, in order to put his Projects in Execution; and to lull the Duke into a deeper Security, writes to him very kind Letters, defiring him not to be concerned at it, fince he had no other

other End in it than formerly in the like Voyages, unless it were to put a final Determination to all Differences between them to their mutual Satif-The Duke was so pleased by these Assurances under the King's Hand, that he went in Person to meet his Majesty, accompanied by his Brother the Bishop of Lubeck, and many others of the Nobility; and afterwards treated him very splendidly at a House of his upon the Road near his Residence of Gottorp; the King then careffing him, and defiring him earnestly to come and fee him at Rendsburg (a fortified Town about fourteen English Miles from thence) near which the Rendezvous of the Troops was appointed. Towards the Conclusion of this Feast several large Healths were drank to the future good Agreement, with fo much appearing Sincerity, that the good Duke thought he had no Reason to doubt the Reality of it; but ordered his Chief Minister to wait upon the King and his Ministers at Rendsburg; where they fo far accommodated all Matters, that the whole Affair was supposed near its Conclusion.

Upon this the Duke fends three of his chief Counfellors, impowered by a special Commission, to treat and conclude at Rendsburg; with whom three of the King's Council met, and conferred. The Business of the Conference was principally about the Exchange of other Lands for the Counties of Oldenburg and Delmenborst; but in it the King's Commissioners took Occasion to renew the Debate about the Division of the Taxes, whereof, as I have said before, the King challenged the greater Part: This did a little surprize and displease the Duke's Commissioners, who thought it foreign to the Matter in hand, and would not hearken to Proposals of that Nature.

At the very fame Time, and during this Conference, the King's Prime Minister wrote to the Duke's, That he thought it necessary for both Princes, that the Duke of Gottorp would please to come to Rendsburg to the King, who was ready to conclude a Treaty; because the Presence of fo near a Relation would contribute more than any thing else to a friendly Composure of all these Matters. And the Duke, as well upon the Account of the former Invitation, as upon this fresh one, withal to shew his Forwardness towards a Peace, refolves upon the Visit; first fending a Gentleman to acquaint the King with his Intention, and defiring his Permission to come and wait upon him. The King's Answer was, That he should be heartily welcome, and his Chief Minister also, whom he defired him to bring along with him. Thus the Duke being fully perfuaded that all was meant honourably, on the 25th of June began his Journey, accompanied by his Minister and other Nobility, and arrived at Rendsburg; where he was welcomed by a Discharge of all the Cannon of that Fortress, and other Demonstrations of Joy.

The next Day, being the 26th of June 1675, a fatal one to that unfortunate Prince and his Family, an Express arrives with Letters of the great Defeat given the Swedes by the Brandenburgers at Febr Berlin. This was what the Danes wished and waited for; but could scarce promise themselves it should succeed so fully according to their Expectations, or nick the Time so justly as it did. They thought Heaven itself concurred with their Intentions; and not to be wanting on their Parts, immediately gave Orders to shut the Town Gates, to call a Council of War, to send their Soldiers up and down, and seize all the Duke's

Towns

Towns and Fortresses. These Orders were as fuddenly executed: The Duke's Troop of Guards were difarmed, himself confined a Prisoner to his Apartment; his Dinner, which he thought to have eaten with the King, was brought in to him by Officers and Soldiers, who watched him fo narrowly that he could not ftir; the poor Duke exclaiming in the mean while, and complaining that he was ill used: That he was a Sovereign Prince of the Empire, independent of any other Power; that he was a near Kinfman, a Brotherin-Law, nay, an invited Guest of the King's; that all the Laws of Justice, of Blood, of Friendship and Hospitality were violated by this Action, wherein the King had broken his Parole, and the Sanctuary of his own House. But all this was in vain; the Duke had no Remedy prescribed to him, but Patience; the Blow which was begun must be followed, and more Evils must succeed that which had already happened.

For the Duke being thus feized, his Ministers were presently sent for, and told, That now there was an End of all Treating; that the King was Master, and would act as such: To which Purpose he would take Possession of the Duke's whole Country, and put Garisons into all the strong Places which he thought proper to secure to himself, because he had an Intention to lead his Army elsewhere against the Swedes: That the Inclinations of the House of Gottorp were always malevolent towards the King, and by him considered as such; however, if the Duke would fairly and freely renounce his Right to the Lands in question, the King might, at the Duke's Request, be prevailed upon to give him an hundred and sifty thousand

Rix-Dollars at Copenhagen for it.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding the Extremity the Duke was reduced to, he could not be brought to confent to such a severe Condition; but offered, since Matters could be no better, that the King, without Prejudice to his Right, should have the Taxes for much contested, in the manner he defired; that his Majesty should put one half of the Garison into the strong Town of Tonningen, provided that all therein did take the Oaths of Allegiance to both Princes, till fuch time as the Exigencies of Affairs would permit the entire Restoration of it to its former Mafter: That if the King would difpose of his Country folely, the Duke must yield to Force, but hoped his Right should be referved intire, and defired that his Residence and Habitation of Gottorp, which was neither by Nature nor Art strong enough to be formidable, might be left free to him: Laftly, That the King would grant Him and His Liberty to dispose of themfelves as they thought fit.

The Danes Answer was, That these Offers and Demands were no other than Trisles: That the King would proceed to the Execution of his own Will and Pleasure by Force and Arms; that neither the Duke, nor any of His, should ever be restored to their Liberty till he had signed an Instrument there ready drawn up, to order the Commander of Tonningen to surrender it to the King: Which the Duke at last, through despair of his Life, was forced to consent to; and accordingly that Fortress, with all its Cannon and Stores, was delivered up to the Officer sent by the King sor

that Purpose.

Things being brought to this pass, the Duke was removed to his own House at Gottorp. His Dutchess, who had been all this while at Copenhagen, and as it was thought consented to all the Injustices

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inflices acted against her Husband and Family, was restored to him; but he was in effect a Prifoner still; for Guards were placed at all the Avenues, every Day fome new fevere Conditions were proposed to him, and Articles offered him which he was forced to fign: One of which was a Renunciation of his Supreme and Independent Right over the Dukedom of Slefwick. Being at last quite tired with so many Violences, not knowing where they might end, he began to think of his Escape: So that one Day taking the Advantage of his Dutchess's being fent for again by her Mother, the Queen Dowager of Denmark, he pretended to accompany her part of the Way; and by the means of some trusty Servants, had Relays of Horses placed in convenient Stations. After a few Hours travelling with her, he took his Leave of her, and pretending to hunt, fet Spurs to his Horse, and rid away as fast as he

could towards Hamburg.

The Alarm was prefently given of the Duke's

Flight, and many Horsemen were dispatched after him; which he being aware of, took not the direct Road, but went about by Kiel; fo that, after a narrow Escape, he arrived safely where he defigned. This mightily vexed the King, who used all Means to get him out of that City, because Hamburg being so populous a Town, the Fame of the Barbarity exercised against him flew from thence all over Europe. But the Duke had been taught by former Misfortunes not to truit his Enemy; and as foon as he got to Hamburg, folemnly protested against the Validity of all that he had been constrained to agree to, whilst he was in Durance; yet withal declared, That he was as ready as ever to come to an amicable Composure of Differences with the King, to prevent the Ruin

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King would redress some of the greatest Grievances. This Proposition was so little regarded, that instead of hearkning to it, the King ordered the Fortress of Tonningen to be demolished, the Dukedom of Sleswick to be sequestred, the Magistrates and People to be absolved from their Allegiance to the Duke, and obliged to an Oath of Fidelity to the King; all the Revenues of the Duke to be brought into his Treasury; Garisons to be continued in the Duke's Forts and Mansson-house; and unless the Duke came to accept of the King's Terms in relation to that Fief, that it should for ever be annexed to the Crown of Denmark.

For the more speedy Publication of these new Orders, Proclamations were made and affixed to that effect in all the Towns of the Dukedom: The Duke on his Part publishing others in opposition to this Usurpation, together with a solemn Protestation against all that had been done; concluding with a Command to the States of the Dukedom, and the rest of his Subjects, to continue firm in their Loyalty and Obedience to their

Natural Prince.

But the King, who was refolved no longer to keep any Measures with him, nor to preserve that Country in any tolerable Condition, which he knew not how long he might enjoy, exacted vast Contributions from the poor Subjects, to the Value of many Millions of Gold, and to the Ruin of as flourishing a Province as any in the Circle of Lower Saxony; thereby disabling the Duke's Subjects from contributing any thing towards the Subsistence of their Master; who continued all this while at Hamburg in a State little besitting his high Quality; whilst he fent his Son abroad to raise the Compassion, and implore the Assistance,

of all the neighbouring German Princes; on which Errand I had the Fortune to meet him at the Courts of Hanover and Wolfembuttel. He made also strong Application to the Crown of England, as Guarantee of the Northern Peace: and caused a full Representation of his disconsolate Condition to be printed in English, which contains at large most of the Particulars above mentioned. But all in vain: The Duke continued a Sufferer notwithstanding his many Appeals to those who ought to have interessed themselves in his Behalf; until fuch time as the King of Sweden began in earnest to take his Cause in hand. This King having at last brought the Affairs of his own Kingdom into fuch a Posture as permitted him to refent the Injuries done to his near Relation, threaten'd the Dane with a War in case he delay'd Restitution; and to this Esfect, in the Year 1689 fet a Fleet to Sea, with intention to fecond his Threats by Blows; which he might the better then do, because the chief Support of the Danes in their Injustice (the French King) was at that time attacked by the Forces of the Confederates; and England, by the Accession of his present Majesty to that Crown, was become a principal Party in so just a War: So that France was likely to have its Hands full at home. Besides, his Majesty of Great-Britain being become Guarantee of the Northern Peace, thought himself obliged in Honour to maintain it; and in order to that End, gave such Instructions to his Envoy Extraordinary, then going to the Danish Court, as might induce it to comply with Justice, and prevent that Effusion of Blood which was threaten'd. These Remonstrances had their due Weight with the King of Denmark; who at last yielded to the Necessity of his Circumstances, and to the Solici-M 2 tations

tations of the Elector of Brandenburg, who preffed, among the rest, the Restoration of the Duke, and had fent his Ministers to the Congress for the Accommodation, to propose a Project to that End; not so much out of Kindness to the Family of Gottorp, as for fear the Swedish Arms should by any just Occasion be brought over the Baltick; the Event of which might be fatal to all the Neighbourhood, and to the Brandenburgers in particular. Thus the Danes, with Reluctancy, confented at last to give up what they had unjustly detained above thirteen Years from its right Owner, after having raifed vast Sums of Money from the Country; for the Duke's Part of the Dutchy of Slefwick only, had about 28000 Ploughs in it, each of which was taxed to pay four Crowns a Month: Besides innumerable other Extortions, which filled the Purses of the Ministers of Denmark, who shared the Revenues among them. The Swedish and Danish Fleets had been about a Fortnight at Sea, but no Action had happened between them. After the Accommodation was published, and the Duke restored, (yet without any Reparation of Damages past) the two Fleets returned to their feveral Ports, and the Duke to his Habitation of Gottorp, which he found in a defolate Condition, compared to what he left it in. The Dutch had a principal Hand in the Conclusion of this Agreement, by the means of Myn-Heer Heemskirk their Minister; and his Majesty of Great-Britain a large Share of the Glory of redreffing a Wrong, which through fo many Years Poffession pleaded a kind of Prescription to warrant it: The very first Half-Year of his Reign vindicating the Honour of the Crown of England, which was engaged as Guarantee; and fecuring the Peace of the North, in order to the procuring the Affiftance of one or both

both of those Princes, towards the humbling the common Enemy. This he effectually did; for the Danes immediately afterwards sent by Treaty seven thousand Soldiers, which are yet in his Majesty's Pay; and the Swedes remain at liberty to continue such of their Troops in the Dutch Service as formerly were stipulated for, and which (had a War broken out) they might have been forced to recall.

### CHAP. XIV.

The Interests of Denmark in relation to other Princes.

In N treating of the Interests of the King of Denmark in relation to other Princes or States which do not confine upon his Dominions, and of his Affections towards them, it will not be necessary to observe strictly the Order and Rank which those Princes hold in the World; I shall therefore take them as they come indifferently.

With the EMPEROR the King of Denmark is obliged to keep always a good outward Correspondence, he being himself a Prince of the Empire, as Duke of Holstein; and the Emperor having it often in his Power to do him several Kindnesses or Diskindnesses. The King has a great Desire to establish a Toll at Gluckstadt upon the River Elbe; and although the Emperor's Consent would not absolutely secure the Business for him, there being many other Princes, together with all those who are concerned in the Trade of Hamburg, that would obstruct it; yet it would M3

strike a great Stroke, and must always be a necesfary Preliminary. He keeps therefore very fair with his Imperial Majesty, and when pressed by the Ministers, fends (for valuable Considerations) fome Troops to ferve in Hungary against the Turks; notwithstanding which he is inwardly troubled at the Power of the House of Austria, and the Increase of its Dominions; being jealous, as most of the other German Princes are, that the Greatness of that Family may one Day turn to the Detriment of the Liberty of Germany: And therefore is not displeased at the Successes of the French, or of the Turks. He has been heard to complain of the Neglect which the Imperial Court shows of him, and its Partiality for the Swedes: This occasioned the Emperor's fending a Minister lately to refide at Copenhagen, as well as at Stockholm; fince which he feems to be better fatisfied. But at the Bottom it is to be supposed, that the Dane is no true Friend of the Emperor's; because he thinks his Imperial Majesty favours fome Interests opposite to his, in conniving at the Lunenburgers forcible Possession of the Dukedom of Saxe-Lawenburg, and bestowing the Electoral Dignity on that Family; the Confirmation of which the King of Denmark opposes with all his Power.

POLAND.] With Poland the King of Denmark has at present little Occasion either of Friendship or Enmity, there being but small Correspondence between them; yet he will rather chuse to keep that Crown his Friend, than otherwise; because it may one Day stand him in stead against the Swedes: And for this Reason it is that the Elector of Brandenburg, whose Interest in that Particular is much the same with Denmark's, maintains a good Correspondence, and entertains a constant Minister at Warsaw. Besides, the Port of Dant-

zick is convenient for all that Trade in the Baltick; and the Danes bring Corn, as well as other Merchandise, from thence. They keep likewise

good Amity with the other Hans Towns.

COURLAND.] The King is upon fair Terms with the Duke of Courland, who has permitted him to raise Men in his Country, the Commander of which, one Pottcamer, is Brother to that Duke's Prime Minister; and the Soldiers are the best able to live hardily, and to endure

Fatigue, of any in the World.

HOLLAND.] It is the Interest of Denmark to be well with the Dutch above all other Princes in Europe, because of the great Revenue it receives from their Traffick, and the Toll which they pay in the Sound: Because also in case of a Quarrel with Sweden, or any other Extremity, the King of Denmark is certain of the Assistance of the Hollanders; which is always fufficient and ready to protect him, as has been experienced in the former Wars between the Northern Crowns: For the Dutch will never fuffer the Balance of the North to lean too much to one Side, their Interest in the Trade of the Baltick being so considerable; but will take care to affift the weaker with proportionable Succours; which the Conveniency of their Situation, and their Naval Force, permits them to do with greater Ease than any other. Notwithstanding all which Considerations, there are frequent Occasions of Quarrel between the Dutch and Danes; and the Friendship which the latter have for the former (especially fince this War with France, and the Convention made with England for the Interruption of all Commerce with that Kingdom) is very weak and unstable; for besides that an absolute Monarchy, for other Reasons, can never throughly love a Republick, M 4

Republick, the Danes are envious at the great Trade of the Dutch; and count it a Disparagement that Merchants, as they call them, should have it in their Power to give Law to a Crowned Head. However, at the Bottom, Denmark would not be pleased that Holland should sink under the Force of its Enemies, but would use its best Endeavours to prevent it, though possibly not before Matters were reduced to so great an Extremity, as it might be beyond the Ability of the Danes to

afford a timely Remedy.

FRANCE.] The King of Denmark loves the Alliance of *France*, and keeps a stricter Correspondence with that Crown than with any other; tho' it be most certain, that the Maxims which he has learnt from thence, and the Practices which followed those Maxims, have been the principal Occasion of that Kingdom's prefent ill Condition. But the King of France by fair Words, large Promifes, and a little Money feafonably bestowed, has had the Knack to amuse this Court, and to make it act as he pleases; notwithstanding the many Affronts, the ill Successes, and the universal Misery which through his means have attended it. The Emissaries of France are thick fown here; nothing pleases that is not according to the French Pattern, either in Dress, Military Discipline, or Politicks: And it is certain that a fitter could not be followed by any arbitrary Prince; provided a due Regard were had to the Force and Strength to perform, in Proportion to the Defign undertaken. Want of this Confideration has been fatal to Denmark: France has told this King, that Soldiers are the only true Riches of Princes, and this has made him raife more than he knows what to do with, unless he disturb his Neighbours; which generally he does for the Interests of France, though

though at last it turns to his Loss. So that Denmark refembles in this Point a Monster that is all Head and no Body, all Soldiers and no Subjects; and whenever a general Peace comes to be established in Europe, which shall set open foreign Trade, and confequently spoil all the Advantages that his Country enjoys at prefent, I cannot fee what will become of the publick Affairs here; for the Soldiers when disbanded, being most of them Strangers, will return to their respective Homes; and the Revenues of these Kingdoms must fink extremely through the want of People, and their Poverty. It feems therefore no less than Madness for the least and poorest Kingdom of Europe, to think of emulating with Success the richeft, greatest, and the most populous, and to take its Measures from thence; as if there were no Difference between King and King. So have I heard that the little Republick of St. Marino in Italy, which confifts but of one small Town with the Mountain it stands upon, and is scarce taken notice of by Travellers, takes occasion to write to the Republick of Venice fometimes, and to stile it Our Sister, with as much Gravity and Pride, as if it equalled the other in Power. But the Vanity of these poor Italians proceeds no farther than Words, which does them no Harm.

But the true Reasons which render it the Interest of Denmark to keep well with France (and they are no weak ones) are first, because they look upon that Crown as the sole Balance against the Grandeur of the Emperor and the House of Austria, whose Power, as I said before, is looked on by all the Princes of Germany with a very jealous Eye: The late Addition of the Crown of Hungary to it, with its other Conquests on that Side from the Turks; the Probability of the Spanish Dominions

Dominions falling to some active Branch of it: and the Remembrance what Havock the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and his Successor, made among the German Princes, when possessed of the like Advantages; make the Danes, as well as the others, reflect feriously upon what may happen hereafter, should France be reduced to too low an Ebb. A fecond Reason is, because they know no other Naval Force able to contest the entire Dominion of the Seas with the English and Dutch; and they are willing to keep the Dispute about that Dominion undetermined between the French and us, that no Laws may be laid upon Traffick, but that they may reap their Share of the Trade of the World; which they think would be but fmall, should that Point be once finally decided to our Advantage. A third Reason, and the most forcible, is, the Subsidies which the King of Denmark draws from time to time from France; a little ready Money, among a necessitous People, carrying irrefiftible Charms with it: And this has been the Drift of the French Policy in advising that King to a greater Charge than he was able to bear, under Pretence that they confulted his Honour and Grandeur, whereas they only confulted their own Ends; being fure, after they had rendred him and his Country poor, that they could buy him when they pleased. Yet whenever the French Treasure shall come so far to be exhausted, that a fairer Bidder appears, this Piece of Policy will not only fail the French, but turn to their Difadvantage.

SPAIN and PORTUGAL.] With the Kings of Spain and Portugal the Dane is in a State of Indifferency. Their Dominions are so far a funder, and the Business so little which they have with each other, that there happen sew or no Occasions, either of a Quarrel or Friend-

ship

ship between them. Yet the Danes have some small Trade for Salt and Wine with each of these Princes Subjects; and during this War make some Benefit of their Neutrality, by transporting in their Ships the Effects of French, English, and Dutch, from one Port to another. They have indeed some Pretensions on the Spaniard for Arrears of Subsidies owing to them ever since the Danes took the Part of the Consederates against France in the sormer War; but they despair of obtaining them, unless some unforeseen Accident put them in a Way of getting that Debt, the Accompts of which have hardly ever been

adjusted between them.

SAXONY. With the late Elector of Saxony the King of Denmark kept a very good Correspondence: The Elector having married one of the King's Sifters, that Affinity produced as amicable Effects as could be defired; infomuch that it begat a Resolution of a nearer Union of the two Families in a Match between the present Elector (then Prince) and the King's only Daughter: This proceeded as far as a formal Contract, and the usual Marriage Prefents were folemnly exchanged in order to Confummation; when on a fudden the old Elector died last Year, as he was leading an Army towards the Rhine against the French, for the common Cause of Europe. The Death of this Prince, among other Alterations, produced this, that his Succeffor the present Elector being thereby become at his own Difpofal, and having been formerly very much in love with another Lady, who is the prefent Electress, refused to compleat his Marriage with the Daughter of Denmark, and fent back the Presents which were given at the Time of the Contract. This Action of his highly difgusted the King, Queen, and the whole Danish Court; however,

however, there was no Remedy but Patience; the Elector was too remote to fear any Effects of the Danes Displeasure, and resolved to pursue his own Inclinations in the Choice of a Wise, let the World say and do what it would. Accordingly he presently courted and married where he fancied; leaving the Danes to digest this Affront as well as they could; which they will scarce forget this great while. So that it is to be supposed the ancient Knot between the King and the Electoral Family of Saxe is hereby very much loosen'd; yet not so far as to proceed to any open Breach, the Elector's Excuses for this Action having been received and accepted of as some fort of Satisfaction.

MUNSTER.] With the Bishop of Munster the King of Denmark lives in good Amity, by reason of his Neighbourhood to the Counties of Oldenburg and Delmenborst; and for the most part has a Minister residing at that Court. The like Friendship is between him and the other Princes of Germany; particularly with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who is Brother to his Queen, and ex-

tremely beloved by her.

The King of Denmark has one Brother, viz.

Prince George, born 1653, and married to her Royal Highness the Princess Anne, Sister to her Majesty of England.

And four Sisters, viz.

Anna Sophia, the Widow of the late Elector of Saxony.

Frederica Emilia, the Wife of the Duke of Holstein. Guillimetta Ernestina, Widow of the Palatine of the Rhine.

Ulrica Eleonora Sabina, the Queen of Sweden.

#### CHAP. XV.

## Of the Laws, Courts of Justice, &c.

SOME Naturalists observe, that there is no Plant or Insect, how venomous or mean soever, but is good for something towards the Use of Man, if rightly applied: In like manner it may be said, That several useful Lessons may be learnt, conducing to the Benefit of Mankind, from this Account of Denmark, provided things

be taken by the right Handle.

Hitherto we have indeed met with many things in it to be avoided, and little deserving Imitation: But being now to speak of the Danish Laws, I must needs begin with this good Character of them in general, That for Justice, Brevity, and Perspicuity, they exceed all that I know in the World. They are grounded upon Equity, and are all contained in one Quarto Volume, written in the Language of the Country, with so much Plainness, that no Man, who can write and read, is so ignorant, but he may presently understand his own Case, and plead it too if he pleases, without the Assistance of Counsel or Attorney.

Here is none of that Chicane to be found which destroys and raises so many great Estates in England. A very sew Advocates do the Business of all the litigious Persons in these Kingdoms: Neither are their Fees arbitrary or exorbitant; no Suit of what Importance soever hangs in suspense longer than one Year and a Month: Since a Man may go through all the Courts, and have Execution

done within that Time, unless he be wanting to himself.

It may be replied to this, That the Scarcity of Money may be the principal Occasion of few Law-Suits and Lawyers. It is not denied; and perhaps a right Sense of this was the first Cause of so good a Regulation of Justice: For since the King was resolved to empty the Pockets of his Subjects, it was not for his Advantage to permit others to do it, and share the Gains with him. However, thus much may with Certainty be averred, That the like Regulation would not only agree with, but consummate the Happiness of a rich Country; and this Instance of Denmark makes it evident

that fuch a Regulation is practicable.

But to return to our Purpose. In Denmark, in the ordinary Proceedings between Man and Man, there are three Courts, every one of which has Power to give a definitive Sentence, and must either acquit or condemn. Yet there lies an Appeal from the lower to the higher; and if the inferior Judge has wilfully varied from the positive Law, the Party wronged has Damages given him, both from the Judge and his Adversary. Here is no Removal of Actions from one Court to another, where the Parties may begin all again; but by way of ordinary Procedure from the lower to the higher. The three Courts are these; first, In Cities and Towns the Byfogbds Court, to which in the Country does answer the Herredsfougds Court. Secondly, From thence lies an Appeal to the Landstag or general head Court for the Province. Thirdly, From thence to the Court called the High-right in Copenhagen; where the King himself sometimes sits in Person, and it is always composed of the prime Nobility of the Kingdom. The Judges in the two former Courts are constituted tuted indeed by the King's Letters Patents durante bene-placito; but are punishable for any Misdemeanors committed, and condemned to make Reparation to the Party injured for any Injustice by The City of Copenhagen has this them done. particular Privilege, that the Sentences pass'd in the Byfoghds Court, instead of passing through the Provincial Court, are tried by the Burgomaster and Common Council, and fo proceed to the highest Court; which resembles so far our High Court of Chancery, that if any Matter happen to fall in debate, for the Decision of which there is not a positive Article to be found in the Law, (which rarely happens) it is there determined by the King, or by the others prefent, who are as it were the Keepers of the King's Conscience: And all this were very well, were it not that the first Article of the Law referves to the King the Privilege of explaining or altering it at his Pleafure.

In Matters relating to the Revenue, the Rent-Chamber in *Denmark* refembles our Court of *Exchequer*: Which has also a Pay-master General belonging to it; and sometimes there is a Court composed of some Members of this Rent-Chamber, the Admiralty, and the College of Commerce; before which lie the Appeals of Merchants whose Goods happen to be seiz'd for not

having paid the King's Duties.

The Sentences passed in the inferior Courts are sometimes biassed and partial; but not often, for sear of the highest Court, where great Regard is had to Justice; insomuch that I knew a Judge, who very hardly escaped being fined for a Sentence passed against an English Merchant; which Sentence was presently reversed.

Indeed, whilst Monsieur Griffinfeldt and Monsieur Wibbe were Chancellors, there were Mutterings, that the High Court Sentences were not altogether up to the Rigour of the Law; but this is very rare now, unless when a Courtier or Favourite is interessed in such a Sentence; in which Case, or in Matters wherein the King is concerned, you are to expect little Justice, especially if it re-

late to Money.

The Salaries of the Judges are but small; they are paid out of the Exchequer, and do not confift in Fees. The Byfoglid may have about one hundred Rix-Dollars yearly; and he pays himself out of the Fines of Delinquents. In the Country the Herredsfougds have each of them the Rent that is due to the King for a Farm that stands rated at ten Tuns of Hard-Corn; he has besides from the Plaintiff and Defendant, for the Sentence he passes, ten Stivers from each: And the Byfoghd, or Judge in Cities and Towns, double as much. Moreover, the contesting Parties are bound to pay the Clerk fo much a Sheet for the Paper, in which is fet down at large the whole Proceeding, and the Allegations of each Party, whether they be Verbal or by Libel, and, at the Close of all, the Sentence itself. At the Byfoghds Court, and the Landstag, the Judge inserts the Law, and adds the Reasons upon which his Judgment is founded; but in the High-Right no Reason is given at all, or but very feldom. And that no Clerk may have it in his Power to pick any Man's Pocket by filling up many Sheets of Paper, there are Limits fet, beyond which no Man is obliged to pay. Every one may plead his own Caufe that pleases; however, it is the King's Order that the Magistrates take care to have one or more Advocates (fuch as they approve of) who are to plead for the Poor, and for fuch as cannot plead for themselves. Upon the whole Matter, the Charges

Charges of the Law are very eafy; fince a Complaint may go through the three Courts for fifty Rix-Dollars, which is less than twelve Pounds Sterling; unless the Sum in question be very great, and more than ordinary Evidences to be These Laws are so written on fealed Paper. equitable and expeditious, that they are extremely commended by Merchants and Strangers, who have occasion to have Recourse to them. Neither is the Smallness of the Expence any Encouragement to those that love going to Law; for the Laws themselves provide effectually against this Mischief, and take away the very Root of Litigiousness; being so plain and clear, that a troublesome Person never finds his account in promoting vexatious Suits, but meets with all

the Difappointments one would wish him.

In criminal Matters a great Severity of Justice You never hear of any Person is practifed. guilty of the Crime of Treason against the King; the Government has rivetted itself fo fast upon the Bottom it now stands, that no body offers to wag fo much as the Tongue against it. There are no Clippers or Coiners, no Robbers upon the High-way, nor House-breakers; which Conveniency of arbitrary Government, among the Multitude of Mischies attending it, I have likewise observed in France; perhaps because those Princes, who are entire Masters of their Subjects Purses at pleasure, take more effectual Care of them, as of their own; and therefore use such Means that none shall plunder or cheat their People, for the fame Reason that Folks kill Vermin in Dovehouses, viz. that they may make the greater Profit themselves. The most usual capital Crimes are Manslaughter and Stealing. Execution is done upon Offenders by beheading them with a Sword

at one Stroke very dexterously. The Headsman, tho' infamous by his Place, so that no body will come into his company, yet is commonly rich, having other advantageous Employments that no body else dares undertake, viz. the emptying all the Necessary-Houses, the removing all dead Dogs and Horses out of Houses and Stables, or from before Doors; for no Danish Servant will, upon any Terms, set a hand to either of these Works; and the Executioner has his own Rates for these base Offices, which he performs by his under Servant, called the Racker.

The Advocates are not bred, as with us in England, in Publick Societies, such as Inns of Court or Chancery; neither take they any Degrees of Barrister, Serjeant, or the like; but may take up the Calling as they please, according to their In-

clinations or Abilities.

There are besides the three ordinary Courts before mentioned, Commissioners of the Admiralty, which they call the *Admiralty Court*; wherein Affairs relating to the Sea are determined, such as Prizes, Wrecks, Disputes with Privateers, and the like.

There is likewise a Chancellary, which consists of a Number of Clerks, who write and issue all the King's Orders, give out Citations, transcribe Papers, make the Latin Projects of Treaties with foreign Courts, according to the Directions they receive. In short, they are as it were Under-Secretaries, and were formerly subject to the Government of one whom they called a Chancellor; but since Monsieur Wibbe's Death, that Employment hath not been filled: Neither does it resemble our Place of Chancellor in England. The Clerks of this Office have some small Salary from the King, and have moreover so much for every Citation

Citation to the High Court, and so much for every Order they issue, which they divide among them.

In Copenhagen there is a publick Officer appointed, called the Polity-Master, whose Business is to keep good Orders in Affairs relating to the City; he is to fee that the Merchants fell warrantable Merchandise; that they do not interfere in one another's Trades; and to compose Differences on that account among them; that the publick Buildings, Draw-Bridges, and Canals be kept in Repair; that the Streets be paved, cleanfed, and free of the Incumbrances of Bulks and other Inconveniences; that no prohibited Goods be brought in; that there be always Plenty of Bread-Corn, and fold at a moderate Price; that the requifite Affiftance in case of Fire be at hand. And indeed the Orders taken in this Matter are very good; for there are felect Companies appointed to watch and extinguish the Fire, no others daring to approach within a certain Distance, lest under Pretence of bringing Help, they should take the Occasion to plunder. The Chimney-sweepers are bound to keep a Register of all Chimnies they fweep, that in case of any ill Accident, those, by whose Neglect or Covetousness it happens, may be answerable for it. Torches or Flambeaux are allowed to be carried in the Streets, by reason of the great Quantities of Fir-Timber, and the constant high Winds which are here; instead of which all Persons, even the Court itself, make use of large round Lanthorns, carried at the End of long Sticks. The Polity-Master regulates also the Price of travelling in their open Waggons, and punishes fuch as exact more than the established Rate, if they be complained of; also such as travel in the N 2 King's

King's particular Highway without Permission; and such as make use of Guns and Fowling-pieces, and bring in Venison, Fowl, and Hares by Stealth, or in Times when they are prohibited to be kill'd. He takes care also to prevent and suppress Riots and Disturbances of the Soldiers, who are not permitted to walk the Streets after the Tattoo has gone about; and in general of all other Matters relating to Order, Quiet, and

Decency.

Among other good Regulations in Denmark, I look upon that of the Apothecaries to be none of the least commendable; for no Man is permitted to exercise that Trade, unless he be appointed by the College of Physicians, and confirmed by the King himself. There are but two allowed to the City of Copenhagen, and one to every other confiderable Town. Their Shops and Drugs are carefully visited twice or thrice a Year by the Magistrates, accompanied by the Doctors of Phyfick; and fuch Drugs as are either naught or old, are taken from them and flung away. The Prices of all thefe Drugs are fixed, fo that any Child may be fent to an Apothecary's Shop without hazard of being imposed upon; and nothing is fold that is not exceeding good, and at very moderate Rates. They fell all for ready Money, yet keep exact Books of what they fell, to whom, and by whose Prescription: So that the great Mischief of accidental or wilful Poisoning, so frequent in other Countries, is either quite avoided; or, if practifed, eafily difcovered and punished.

The Government in the Country is managed, by dividing it into feveral Districts or Governments, called *Stifts-Ampts*, whereof there are in all seven; of these, four are in *Jutland*, the other three in the Islands. Each of these is again sub-

divided

divided into three leffer Jurisdictions, called Ampts. The Stifts-Ampts-man, or Governor of a County, is commonly one of the best Quality and Fortune in that part of the Country; and this Charge answers to that of Lord Lieutenant of our Counties in England, or rather of Intendant in France. The Ampts-man, or Under-Governor of a Hundred, or Baillage, is generally a Gentleman of leffer Fortune, who refides in the principal Town of his District, and takes care of all Matters relating to the Publick; as convenient quartering of Soldiers, providing for their March, collecting the King's Revenues, giving Orders to the Peafants when employed about publick Works, or when the King travels. All this they do themselves, or by inferior Officers, like our Bailiffs and Con-These Employments are for the most part given by the King during Life, and are the principal Rewards of fuch as have well deferved: He that has ferved long and faithfully as a foreign Minister, or in any other considerable Civil Post, is usually promoted upon a Vacancy to be Stifts-Ampts-man of his Province, provided his Estate and Interest there be some way correspondent. The Grooms of the King's Bed-chamber, and other Officers of the Court, upon their Marriage, or retiring from Court, are gratified with an Ampt, and fent to live at home, provided they have ferved long, and be in any Favour. The King pays to each of these a yearly Salary out of his Treasury; to a Stifts-Ampts-man, a thousand Crowns a Year; to an Ampts-man, four hundred Crowns. The principal Advantages they reap from these Employments, are these: First, That being more confidered and favoured at Court than others, they escape better at the Time of a publick Tax, and can often find Means to ease the Burden off their own Lands, by inhancing it upon N 3 others à

others; neither will the Court willingly give ear to Complaints against them. Secondly, They are very much honoured and feared at home, and have the Privilege to domineer over the Peasants, and other their Inferiors, without Controul, unless they do it too grossy, and beyond measure.

Before I conclude this Chapter, I think it very pertinent to take notice, That in Denmark there are no Seditions, Mutinies, or Libels against the Government; but all the People either are or appear to be Lovers of their King, notwithstanding their ill Treatment, and the Hardships they groan under. And I suppose one principal Reason of this to be the Equality of the Taxes, and the Manner of Taxing. It is not to be imagined by those that see it not, what a Comfort it is to the Sufferers to be ill used alike: For Poverty and Riches being only fuch in Proportion, provided Men be treated like their Neighbours, they grumble not: That which vexes the Oppressed in most Countries, (especially the common People, who are more than ordinary envious) is to fee their County, their Parish, or their House, taxed more in proportion than their Neighbours. And they have reason to be discontented at this, for it brings real Poverty upon those that are over-taxed: It does not diminish the general Stock of the Subjects Money, which would keep all Commodities and Necessaries at equal and moderate Rates; but picks particular Men's Pockets, whilst it leaves others rich and able to profit by the Necesfities of the Poor.

'Tis a certain Sign of an ill Government where there are abundance of Laws; \* but 'tis no certain Sign of a good one, where there are but a few, as is plain in the Case of Denmark. However, this Bleffing of sew and good Laws, is like a Grain

<sup>\*</sup> Corruptissima Republica plurima leges. Tacit. Ann. Lib. 3.

of Consolation to sweeten a world of Bitterness, and enables them to bear their other Hardships with more Ease and Patience.

#### CHAP. XVI.

The State of Religion, of the Clergy, Learning, &c.

WHEN the Corruptions of the Roman Church grew fo intolerable to many Nations in Europe, that an universal Reformation became necessary, Denmark, among the rest of the Northern Countries (which had been less managed and more abused by the Priests than the Southern) shook off that Yoke, and instead of the Roman-Catholick, embraced the Doctrine and Opinions of Martin Luther. King Frederick the First, about one hundred and fifty Years since, brought these in, and established them so generally in his Dominions, that at this Day there is no other Religion here professed than the Lutheran; if we will except the little Reformed French Church of Copenhagen, fet up by the Queen; and one Popish Chapel at Glucstadt, permitted about ten Years ago to a few Popish Families in those Parts; which is the first that has been since the Reforma-This great Unity in Belief in the North (for Sweden has it as well as Denmark) is owing to the Sincerity of those Princes that began the Reformation there: For it is likely they did it upon a pure religious Account, and therefore went effectually to work in the Conversion of all their Subjects, using proper Means for such a Purpose; whereas in England, and elsewhere, Rea-

fons of State, and other By-ends, had at least as great a Share in it as Conviction of Conscience; so that the Business was done by Halves, through the Unsettledness of our Princes in their Opinions, who encouraged or connived at a diffenting Party, according as their worldly Interests led them. The vast Convenience to any Prince of having all his Subjects of one Opinion, is visible in Denmark; where there are no Factions nor Disputes about Religion, which usually have a great Influence on any Government; but all are of one Mind, as to the Way of Salvation, and as to the Duty they owe their Sovereign. This cuts off occasion of Rebellion and Mutiny from many, who otherwife would defire it, and feem to have Reason enough, because of the heavy Pressures they lie under. As long as the Priests are entirely dependent upon the Crown, and the People absolutely governed by the Priests in Matters of Conscience, as they are here, the Prince may be as arbitrary as he pleases, without running any Rifque from his Subjects: In due Confideration of which Benefit, the Clergy are very much favoured, and have full fcope given them to be as bigotted as they please; which indeed they are to a very great Degree, having no common Charity for any that differ from them in Opinion, except the Church of England; and to that they are very kind, often faying, That there is no effential Difference between it and theirs; and wishing that there were an Union of them projected and perfected: Wherein their Defign is not fo much to reduce our Ecclefiasticks to the low Estate theirs are in, as to raife their own to the Splendor and Revenues of ours; which are the principal Virtues they admire in us. They have cast off the Opinions of Rome in the Supremacy of the Pope, and other other Points; but they would retain the Grandeur belonging to that Church, and applaud us for doing both so dexterously; so that I am confident the Business of Consubstantiation would make no Difference, did Princes think it worth their while to promote this Union. On the other side, the Calvinist is hated by them as much as the Papist; and the Reason they give is, because he is against absolute Monarchy, and has a resisting Principle.

Notwithstanding this Flattery of the Court, they are not admitted into Civil Affairs, nor have any thing to do in the Government; neither are they encouraged to appear about Court, or on publick Occasions: The Pulpit is their Province, and it is left free to them. Here they take a vast Liberty of reprehending not only Vices, but particular Persons of the highest Quality; which no body takes notice of, as long as they keep to their own Trade. The common People admire them for this Boldness; and the best Subsistence of the Priests in Cities and Towns being voluntary Benevolence, they take care to cultivate the good Opinion of the Mob, whom they keep likewife in Awe by the Practice of Confession before they administer the Sacrament, which every one that receives is obliged to undergo; and this they retain of the Romish Church, as well as Crucifixes and other Ceremonies.

There are fix Superintendents in Denmark, who take it very kindly to be called Bishops, and My Lord; viz. one in Zealand, one in Funen, and four in Jutland: There are also four in Norway. These have no Temporalities, keep no Ecclesiastical Courts, have no Cathedrals, with Prebends, Canons, Deans, Sub-deans, &c. but are only primi inter pares; having the Rank above the inferior Clergy of their Province, and

the Inspection into their Doctrine and Manners. The Revenue of the Bishop of Copenbagen is about Two thousand Rix-Dollars yearly; the other Bishops of Denmark have about Fisteen hundred Rix-Dollars, and of Norway One thousand Rix-Dollars; they are allowed to have two or three Parishes each; their Habit is common with that of the other Ministers, viz. a plaited black Gown, with short Sleeves, a large stiff Russ about the Neck, and a Cap with Edges, like our Masters of Art, except that theirs is round, and the others some stiff of the others.

square.

Most of them understand English, and draw the very best of their Divinity, as they consess themselves, out of English Books. Many of them have studied in Oxford, who are more valued than the others; they are very constant Preachers, and never read their Sermons, but pronounce them with a great deal of Action. Holy-days and Fast-days are observed as solemnly as Sundays; and in Copenhagen the City Gates are close shut during Sermon-time, so that no body can go in or out. The Commonalty are great Frequenters of the Churches, which are kept much more decently, cleanly, and better adorned than with us: So that they look almost as gaudy as the Popish Churches.

They are all great Lovers of Organs, and have many very good ones, with skilful Organists, who entertain the Congregation with Musick, during half an Hour, either before or after Service.

Denmark has formerly produced very learned Men, such as the samous Mathematician Tycho Brahe, the Bartholines for Physick and Anatomy, Borrichius, who died lately, and bequeathed a considerable Legacy to the University of Copenhagen. But

at present Learning is there at a very low Ebb; vet Latin is more commonly spoken by the Clergy than with us. The Books that come out in Print are very few, and those only some dull Treatises of Controversy against the Papists and Calvinists. The Belles Lettres, or Genteel Learning, are very much Strangers here, and will hardly be introduced till a greater Affluence among the Gentry makes way for them. It is faid that Necessity is the Mother of Invention; which may be true in fome Degree, but I am fure too much Necessity depresses the Spirits, and destroys it quite; neither is there any Invention here, or tolerable Imitation of

what is brought in to them by Strangers.

There is but one University, which is at Copenbagen, and that mean enough in all respects; neither the Building nor Revenues being comparable to those of the worst of our fingle Colleges. The Students wear black Cloaks, and live scattered about the Town, after the manner of those in Leyden. Some of the Professors live in the House. Every Year, on the King's Birth-day, they have a kind of Act; the King honours them with his Presence, and the Restor Magnificus harangues him with a Latin Speech, full of as fulfome Flattery, as if Louis le Grand were the Monarch to be entertained, and a fawning Jesuit the Orator. At certain Periods there are a few Danish Verses sung by the ordinary Singing-Boys to very indifferent Musick, and so the Farce ends.

There was in this King's Father's Time an University at Sora, a Town very pleasantly situated about forty Miles from the City, where the Lodgings and Conveniences for studying much exceeded those of Copenhagen: But the King had occasion for the Revenues; so that now it is deso-

late, and in its flead only a fmall Grammar-School erected.

The Provisions for the Poor are very inconsiderable: Formerly there was a pretty Store of Hospitals scattered up and down the Country; but at present the Revenues of most of these are diverted to other Uses, and those not publick ones.

To conclude: I never knew any Country where the Minds of the People were more of one Calibre and Pitch than here; you shall meet with none of extraordinary Parts or Qualifications, or excellent in particular Studies and Trades; you see no Enthusiasts, Madmen, natural Fools, or fanciful Folks; but a certain Equality of Understanding reigns among them: Every one keeps the ordinary beaten Road of Sense, which in this Country is neither the fairest nor the soulest, without deviating to the right or left: Yet I will add this one Remark to their Praise, that the common People do generally write and read.

#### The CONCLUSION.

I T has been a great Mistake among us, That the Popish Religion is the only one, of all the Christian Sects, proper to introduce and establish Slavery in a Nation, insomuch that Popery and Slavery have been thought inseparable. Not to derogate from the Merit of the Roman-Catholick Persuasion, which has been the Darling of so many Monarchs upon that account; I shall make bold to say that other Religions, and particularly the Lutheran, has succeeded as effectually in this Design

Design as ever Popery did. 'Tis confest, indeed, that Popery would certainly introduce Slavery, but 'ris denied that the last cannot come in without the Affistance of the former; and whoever takes the Pains to visit the Protestant Countries abroad, who have loft their Liberty even fince they changed their Religion for a better, will be convinced that it is not Popery, as such, but the Doctrine of a blind Obedience, in what Religion foever it be found, that is the Destruction of the Liberty, and confequently of all the Happiness of any Nation. Nay, I am perfuaded that many are fatisfied the late King James's Attempts to bring in Popery was the principal Thing which refcued our Liberties from being entirely swallowed up; there feeming in his Reign, through the Interest and Dishonesty of some, the Dissoluteness, Laziness, and Ignorance of others, to have been (in many Men's Opinions) a general Tendency towards Slavery, which would fcarcely have been vigoroufly enough opposed, had he left the Business of Religion untouch'd; and if once introduced, it had been maintained more effectually than in the Days of Popery; I fay more effectually, because the Dependence which the Romish Clergy and Monks have on the Church of Rome, causes often a clashing of Interests, and derogates from that intire Obedience the Subjects owe to the Prince; which is preached up by that Church, as often as the Sovereign acts according to their Direction, and down again whenever he displeases them; whereof we have had frequent Examples in this Kingdom of England, where there have been Bishops and Abbots, in the Days of Popery, as zealous Affertors of the Liberties of the People, as any Laymen could be; whether out of a true Principle, or not, I will not determine; but Occasions

Occasions have been taken by them to raise Tumults and Wars, and, in the Scuffle, the Liberties of the People (of which both King and Churchmen strove who should be the Masters) have escaped untouched: But in Denmark, as well as other Protestant Countries of the North, through the entire and fole Dependence of the Clergy upon the Prince, without the interfering of the Authority of any spiritual Superior, such as that of the Pope among the Romanists; through their Principles and Doctrine, which are those of unlimited Obedience; through the Authority they have with the common People, &c. flavery feems to be more absolutely established than it is in France; as in effect it is more practifed: For that King's Subjects are better treated; there is a Name of a Parliament at *Paris*, and other great Towns, tho' they meet for no other End, but to verify the King's Edicts; there is a formal Demand made of a Benevolence, or Don Gratuit, in some Provinces, which probably they have not the Power to deny; there is an Encouragement of Trade, Manufactures, Learning, &c. all tending to the Good of the People. Besides, we see by Experience, that that King often has great Quarrels with the Court of Rome; which, whenfoever his Power is reduced to a lower Ebb, that his Clergy are not over-awed by it, may produce fuch Divifions and Difturbances as possibly fome Sparks of the People's Liberty may again proceed from the Collision of two fuch hard Rocks. But in the Countries 1 have spoken of, there is no Hope of any fuch Resource; all is swallowed up in the King; Temporals and Spirituals, Soul, Body, Estates, and Conscience. The Army and the Priests are two fure Cards: The Prince that has one of them on his Side, can hardly fail; but he that

that has both depending on him, need fear nothing from his own Subjects, let him use them never so ill.

Much has been fpoken and written by feveral Authors of the Rigor of the Turkish Government; let us consider some Particulars of it by

way of comparison.

The Turks are the Conquerors of the Christians in the Countries they have over-run, and have a fort of barbarous Right to use them ill; yet they never perfecute them upon account of Confcience; they fuffer them for the most part to inhabit and cultivate their own Lands without Disturbance, paying only a Caratch yearly for Tribute; which, as I have been informed by a Minister of his Imperial Majesty's, amounted in Hungary, Sclavonia, Servia, and Bosnia, only to about ten Dollars for an ordinary Family in time of Peace, and during a War nothing. It is true, the Propriety of all Lands in Turky is in the Grand Signior; but whether it be not better to be only a Farmer at an easy Rent, than to have the Name of a Proprietor without a comfortable Subfiftence, and in effect to be Master of nothing, I leave the Reader to judge.

The forcing away Children from the poor Christian Parents, is accounted a great Hardship, though it be for the worldly Profit and Advancement of those Children. Bating the Point of Religion, it is a far less Mischief to deprive Parents of their Sons and Daughters, in order to maintain them well, than to leave a heavy Charge upon their Hands, after having taken away the Possibility of nourishing and educating them.

The Sun, Soil, Climate, and Situation, with other natural Advantages of the Grand Signior's Dominions, as to Profit and Pleasure, are infi-

nitely beyond those of other northern Countries that we are acquainted with. In Turky the Harbours are always open, except fome few Places in the Black-Sea, whereas here they are frozen up three or four Months in the Year. There the Fruits. Flesh, Corn and Herbs, have double the Virtue and Nourishment they have here. 'The Wine there is good and plentiful, and the very Water wholfome and pleafant; here the first is scarce, and the last very bad. In a word, in some Chriftian Countries of Europe, there feems to be most of the Mischies of a Turkish Government, in an infinitely worfe Climate. Besides, we are to confider, that the Turks themselves, who are Lords and Mafters, live well and pleafantly, and it is their conquered Slaves whom they use in the manner above mentioned.

If it be enquired, Whether Matters are like to last at the same rate they are now at in *Denmark?* Though nothing be more fallacious than a Judgment made of the future, I shall not omit speak-

ing a few Words in answer.

Many Reasons might persuade one to think, that the Government, upon the Bottom it stands, cannot last long: As, in the first place, that natural Love of Liberty, which resided formerly in the northern Nations more eminently than in other Parts of the World. What can be expected less from the Descendents of the antient Goths and Vandals, who propagated and established Liberty in so many other Countries, than to shake a heavy Yoke off themselves, which their Foresathers were not able to bear? Especially since this Yoke is so extraordinary grievous, that the Chains which the neighbouring Countries wear, are but ornamental ones if compared with theirs.

Secondly, The Freshness and Newness of this Alteration of their Condition. It being no more than thirty-two Years since it happened; and many remaining yet alive, who remember the Days of Liberty, and, in their private Discourses with their Friends and Children, make Comparison between the past and present Times, and condole with them the Loss of so great a Blessing; it might seem that the Opinion of the present Government's not being sufficiently rooted, nor having gained Authority by length of Time to settle, should encourage those that find themselves grieved, to think of Methods tending to a Change.

Thirdly, The Neighbourhood of the Swedes, who have still their Eye upon Denmark, and long to be sole Monarchs of the North, and Masters of the Baltick-Sea. Now the Burden being so great as it is, one would think the Natives, in hopes of Ease, would rather wish for, than defend their Country from, an Invader; because they have little or no Property to lose, and imagine there is scarce a Possibility of changing for

the worfe.

Fourthly, The Numerousness of the Royal Family. There being four Princes, it will be rare if Concord be maintained among them all, especially since the younger are like to be but meanly provided for: So that frequent Occasions may be taken from Quarrels and Disputes (which possibly in future Times may arise among them) of doing something in favour of Liberty.

These Reasons might cause one to make a Judgment, that the Danish Government could not long subsist as it is. But, on the other hand, there are no less weighty ones which would induce to believe the contrary: For, first, the ancient Love of Liberty seems to be quite extinct in

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the North, and in its place to have succeeded the Conveniencies of a dull Obedience. A miserable Life, which jogs on at the same heavy rate, has a Mixture of melancholy Ease with it, which is preferred before those sudden Accidents, and brisk Traverses of Fortune, which Commotions would occasion; especially by a People naturally of an unactive Body and heavy Spirit, depressed by their Missortunes, which are now grown up with them, and become their familiar Companions.

In the fecond place, the Newness of the Alteration of the Government feems to have little or no Influence at prefent upon the People: For the King has taken fuch care by reducing ancient and rich Families to a low Estate, by raising new ones, by making all the People poor in Spirit as well as Purse, that thirty-two Years has had an Effect conducing to his Purpose, as much as three hundred could have done: Infomuch that I verily believe the Danes do now really love Servitude; and, like the Cappadocians of old, could not make use of Liberty if it were offered them, but would throw it away if they had it, and refume their Possibly they would wish them less Chains. weighty, but Chains they could not live without. If there be one or two among fo many thousands who are of contrary Sentiments, they dare not fo much as mutter them to their own Children, nor would be heard with Patience if they did.

Thirdly, The Unity of Religion, and the Opinions, together with the Authority, of the Priests, seems to have cut away the Root of Sedition,

from whence Alterations might proceed.

Fourthly, A Standing Army, composed for the most part of Foreigners, who have no Value for the Natives, nor any Concern for their Welfare.

The Court feems to have had this in its Eye, when it raifed and maintained fuch an Army; but in process of time the Army is become the People; that is to fay, the only thing worth the King's Care and Affection, and the People nothing; so that no Designs, tending to a Revolu-

tion, are to be feared from them.

Fifthly, The Swedes treat their own Subjects at fuch a rate, as gives the Danes but little Prospect of Benefit by a Change; and, befides, there is fuch a fixed Hatred between these two Nations, by reason of the Injuries they have so often given and received, that it is thought impossible that the Danes, who have been for the most part the Aggreffors, as well as the Sufferers, can ever forgive them. Many judicious Perfons do think, however, that the Swede would find means to overcome these Difficulties, did not the Discontents he has raifed at home make War dangerous to him; and the Interest of almost all the other Princes of Europe concur in the Preservation of the Danes, under the Domination of their own King, by obstructing any further Accession of Power and Territories to the Swedes. And this is certainly fuch a Bar as cannot be leaped over; fo that little of Alteration feems to be expected in Denmark from hence.

Lastly, Those Jealousies which use to reign in the Families of Princes, are not so common nor fatal in Germany as elsewhere: The King of Denmark is a German Prince himself, and 'tis likely will find such Means of preferring his younger Sons, as may content them, either by breeding them up to the War (which is the most ordinary way) or by assigning them Apanages in convenient Places not liable to Dispute. Besides, it is no rare thing in Germany to see Princes satisfied

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with very moderate Revenues: So that the Commonness of the Thing takes away the Discontent, which might arise in high-born Spirits by reason of the Lowness of their Fortunes; and if any Wars be in Europe, thither they all run to get Bread and Reputation. What else should we do for a Stock of Generals in such Havock as the present Wars make of them? Therefore nothing of intestine Commotions seems to be reasonably expected from hence, that shall alter the Form of Government. And from all these Reasons it may be concluded, That the present State is six'd and durable; and that the People with great Difficulty may perhaps change their Masters, but never their Condition.



ADVER-

#### ADVERTISEMENT.

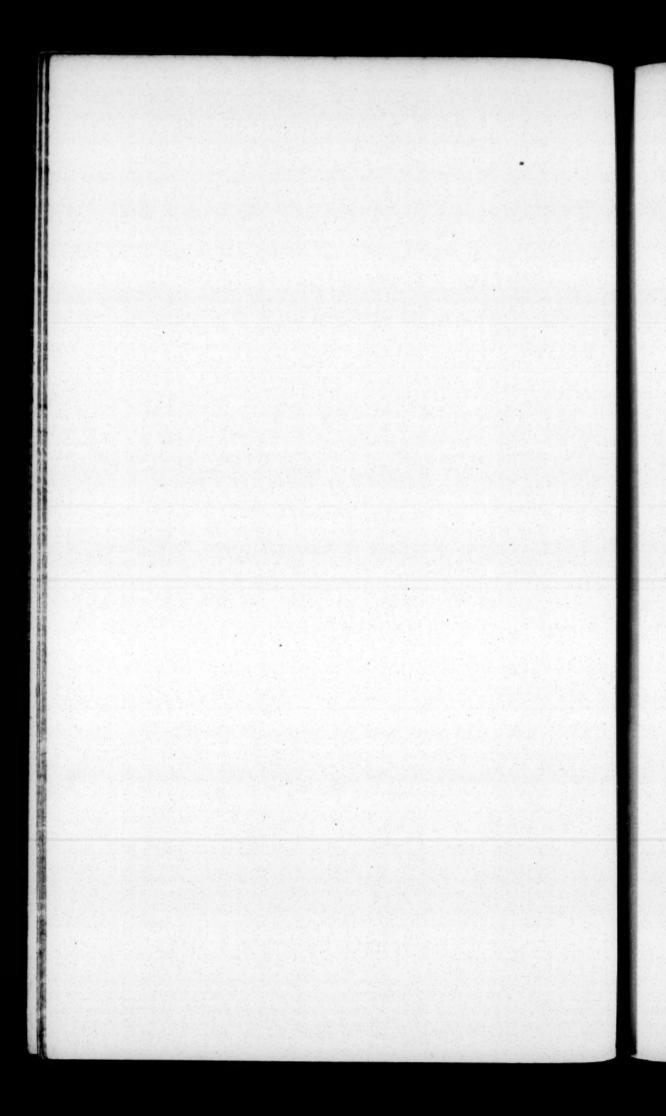
THE two following Pieces were translated by different Hands, and neither of them by the Author of the Account of DENMARK.

The Declaration of the Ecclesiastical State, and that of the Burghers and Peasants, at Copenhagen, the 8th of October 1660, for changing the Succession of the Crown of Denmark from elective to hereditary, is inserted in the 12th Tome, page 332, of the Corps Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, printed in Holland in 16 Volumes in Folio, and is now first published in English.

The Lex Regia, or Royal Law of Denmark, was first published in English in 1731, with a brief Historical Introduction to it: Which Introduction being wholly extracted from the VIIth Chapter of the Account of Denmark, is therefore needless to be added here to that Account itself. It is sufficient to say, that both these authentick Pieces make a proper Supplement to that Chapter of the Account of Denmark,

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The Declaration made, on the 8th of October 1660, to the Senators of the Crown of Denmark, by the Ecclesiastical State, and that of the Burghers and Peasants, for the changing of the Succession to the Crown from Elective to Hereditary.

XIE the underwritten Representatives of the Spiritual and Temporal States, call to mind, with the greatest Joy, the very laudable and well-grounded Speech made to us, the faid States, on the 10th of September last, by his Excellency the Lord High-Steward of the Kingdom, in the Presence of His Majesty our most gracious Sovereign, and of your Lordships: In which his Excellency, next to the Affistance and Protection of the Almighty, attributed the Deliverance and Welfare of this City, and of the whole Kingdom dependent thereon, to His Majesty's Presence, great Prudence, Vigilance, and extraordinary Valour; of the incontestable Truth of which, we, and every one of us, are fully convinced. For who can deny, but that, upon the first News of the Enemy's unexpected Invasion, and fudden Approach towards this City, when His Majesty, the very same Day, assembled the States, and admonished them to be loyal to their King and Mafter, every Man according to his respective Duty, and valiantly to withstand the Attempts of the Enemy; promising, at the same Time, to live and die with us; our Hearts, which before were depress'd and overwhelm'd almost

most to Despair (having Regard to His Majesty's Person, and the impending Danger which threaten'd his Royal House) were in a Moment enliven'd and fill'd with Joy? which must be attributed to the peculiar Bleffing of His Majesty Royal Presence. And the our Walls were to be repair'd with one Hand, yet were we obliged to wield the Sword with the other. Frost and Cold, Hunger and Thirst, Fear and Danger, were our constant Attendants; and yet nothing was to be feen but the most perfect Unity, and an inexpressible Patience. However, all this would have been of no Effect, had we not been reliev'd by foreign Succours both by Sea and Land. And in this His Majesty gave us a lively Proof of his Wisdom and Prudence: For when every Thing was in the greatest Confusion, and the Enemy had cut off all our Passages by Land and Water; notwithstanding their Invasion and the ensuing Siege came fo unexpectedly upon him, His Majesty, with the utmost Expedition, found Means to notify our Condition to foreign Princes and Nations, who, tho' at a great Diffance, yet out of Respect to His Majesty and His Royal House, with the greatest Readiness concurr'd to the Relief of this City. During the Siege His Majesty exposed his Royal Person, not only on the Island of Amack, when invaded by the King of Sweden, but Day and Night on the Ramparts; where, by his conftant Appearance, he excited every one to the Performance of his Duty, with the greatest Loyalty and Affiduity. All the Sallies that were thought necessary, were executed in his Presence, and under his Inspection, and were therefore generally fuccessful. At the general Storm, as well as on all other Occasions, His Majesty was ever present where the greatest Danger appear'd to be, to

to shew all and every one, by his own Example, what he expected on their Part. By this means he incited, in the Hearts of his Subjects, an Ambition of endeavouring, to the utmost of their Power, to be nearest to their Lord and King, and of course to be nearest Danger, as well as, in every Event, to shew a laudable Observance of their Duty. And tho' these humble Proofs of Diligence and Obedience amounted to no more than was every Man's Duty, yet His Majesty, of his Royal Bounty and Clemency, has been pleas'd not only to reward each of the States for this their Loyalty and Diligence, by Grants of noble Privileges, but in particular to dispense his Favours to fuch as fingly perform'd any peculiar Services to His Majesty and his Crowns in this Siege, and

in other Places, during the fame Time.

Now whereas His Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign, has hitherto fway'd the Scepter with the greatest Moderation and Clemency; has, by the Means we have already mentioned, faved and delivered our dear Country out of the Hands and Power of the Enemy; has amply rewarded the Loyalty and Services of his Subjects, tho' they did no more than what they were by Oath oblig'd to; And whereas, moreover, His Majesty's Royal Ancestors, of glorious Memory, have long ruled over this Kingdom with immortal Fame; We are humbly of Opinion, that not only our Duty and Allegiance call upon us, that we may become famous to other Nations; but that likewise the greatest Advantages will accrue to this Kingdom, if Means could be found to express a due Sense of our Gratitude, as loyal Subjects, to His Majesty and his Royal House, for his great Goodness as well to this Kingdom in general, as to every one in particular. And this, we think, might be conveniently

#### 178 Declaration of the Danish Clergy and

veniently done, if, pursuant to the laudable Example of other renowned Nations, we offer to His Majesty, and his Royal House, this Kingdom, which he is now entitled to by the Election of the States, as an hereditary Kingdom: Especially as we find that the States of the Kingdom of Sweden have done the fame, and, to this Day, find their Account in it; not to mention Spain, France, and England, which, by means of the like Administration, are arrived to the highest Pitch of Glory. And tho' we have not the least Reason to doubt, but that your Lordships, who are the wife Counfellors of the Kingdom of Denmark, together with the whole Body of the Nobility, are ready to declare yourselves humbly of the fame Opinion, yet we most earnestly, and with Tender of our best Services, entreat that you, as the principal Members of the Kingdom, will represent this our most humble Intention to His Majesty, in our Presence. Most submissively befeeching His Majesty will graciously please to maintain the feveral States of the Realm in their respective Privileges, and to affure the faid States, by a Rescript in Writing, that this Change shall tend to the Promotion of fuch Things only, as shall be to the Honour of God in Heaven, and to the Advantage and Emolument of this Kingdom. befeech your Excellencies to give a favourable Reception to this our well-intended Declaration, and commit your Excellencies to the Protection of the Almighty. Copenhagen, October 8, 1660.

#### Your Excellencies humble Servants,

Hans Schwann, Bishop of the Kingdom of Denmark, for myself, and for the Superintendant of Aarhausen.

Andreas Andreassen, for Dr Peter Krugelunds, in Riepen.

Jens Schytt, for the Chapter and Consistory of Wyberg.

For the City of Copenhagen.

Hannsz Nansen, and Christopher Hansen, eldest Burghermasters.

Friederich Thureffen, Burghers.

For the City of Chriflian's-Haff. John Dieterichsen. Lewis Pauch, of Rieper, for the Chapter.

For the Chapter of Rotschild. Thomas Michelsen. Hannsz Peter Kallendborg.

For the Chapter of Aarhausen.

Hansz Rumond.

For the Confistory of Zealand.

Erich Oluffsen. Christian Madzen Thomsen. Peter Wilbadzen.

Jasper Hansen. Christian Petersen.

For the Confistory of the See of Wandelbory.

Jacob Hansen.

For the Confistory of the See of Küper.

Jans Schytt.

For the Provost and Ministers of Zyge and Morse.

Andreas Andreassen.

Fühnen, Newborg. Knudt Wolff.

Bugensee. Hansz Jorgensen.

Riedküping on Langeland.

Martin Pauth.

Laaland, Nascau. Peter Martensen.

Nicoping in Falster. Forgen Lauridtzen Hund. Hilarius Hein.

Stubbe Koping. Hansz Wolssen. Hansz Soeffrensen. H. Johansen.

For the City of Riepen. Carsten Thomassen.

For the City of Odenfee. Knud Jacobsen.

For the City of Helfingör. John Hannsen. Hans Jensen.

For the City of Rocke. Christian Carstensen. Detleff Bartram.

Niestede. Peter Seyersen.

Schagelsee.
Clement Petersen.

Iknudice,

#### 180 Declaration of the Danish Clergy, &c.

Iknudsee, Kalundborg. Peter Trellund.

Holberck.

Niels Nielsen.

Ringstådt.

Claus Paulsen.

Slangerup.

Hannsz Acken.

Wardingburg.

Andreas Kocke.

Prestôr.

Laurentze Schytte.

For the City of Stoge. Matz Hansen.

Niecoping, in Aasheit. Dienysius Andersen. For the City of Ahlburg. Claus Thomassen. Hannsz Soefrensen.

For the City of Wyberg. Claus Christensen. Peter Jensen Beerneug.

For Arbusen.

Matz Woem.

For the City of Randers. Michael Tygessen.

For Horsens.

Olloff Hannsen.

For Kolding.

Baltzar Nielsen.
For the City of Hiorniz.

Andreas Nielsen.

# LEX REGIA:

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## ROYALLAW

OF

# DENMARK.

Translated from the Danish.

HE Sovereign Royal Law, constituted and enacted by the most Potent and Illustrious Prince and Lord, Lord Frederick III. by the Grace of God, King of Denmark, Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, Duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar and Ditmarsh, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, subscribed by His Majesty on the 14th Day of November 1665. Which Law the most Potent and Illustrious Prince and Lord Frederick IV. by the Grace of God, King of Denmark, Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. has graciously ordered to be printed and published, the 4th Day of September 1709.

WE Frederick IV. by the Grace of God, King of Denmark, Norway, &c. do make known to all Men, whom it may concern, that after we have seriously consider'd how Almighty God, from the Beginning of the World, has permitted great and manifold Alterations in all Kingdoms and Principalities on Earth, by destroying one Kingdom and raising up another, and by uniting many Kingdoms into one, or by dividing one Kingdom into many; and all this is

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done for the introducing a more regular Form of Government, as it seemeth good to his divine and unsearchable Wisdom:

Therefore We have the greatest Reason imaginable, not only to admire and rejoice at this gracious Conduct of the divine Providence, but also to thank God for his fatherly Care and Protection of all Mankind.

But amongst many Examples which might be given of God's particular Providence, employ'd in the Conservation of Kings and Civil Governments, we shall now content ourselves to observe bow our own bereditary Kingdoms, and more especially that of Denmark, bas been protested wonderfully by wife Providence; inasmuch as for two thousand Years it has been governed by two Royal Families only, wherein Queens bave reigned some few Times; otherwise the Government continued in the Male Line successively, till our Ancestors of the House of Oldenburg, descended by a Daughter from the antient Family of Danish Kings, ascended the Throne of Denmark and Norway, which, but a little time before, were happily united under one King. And there is yet a greater Bleffing, which God, about two bundred Years ago, gracioufly vouchfafed to these Kingdoms, when he bestowed upon these Northern, as well as many other Nations of Europe, the saving Dostrine of the Gospel, purified from the Chaff of buman Traditions; for which glorious Light, We and Our Posterity should rejoice with Thanksgiving. Neither can we deny God the Glory due to bis Name for the Continuation of prosperous Successes attending our Royal Family, not only by blessing our Arms, and defending us against our Enemies in the greatest Dangers, but more especially by inclining the Hearts of our faithful Subjects to be so true and loyal to their Lord and King, that scarce any Subjects in all Christendom can vie with them in point of Loyalty to their Sovereign: In which good Disposition

## The Royal Law of Denmark. 183

Disposition of Mind, We beartily wish they may sted-

fastly persevere to the End of Time.

The All-wife God had referv'd for the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms, the fairest Opportunity of giving a Proof of their Attachment and Loyalty to their Kings, till our Grandfather's Time, Frederick III. of glorious and bleffed Memory; when all the World might see with Admiration the chearful Readiness with which they offer'd themselves to serve their Country, and their King in particular, who had fo valiantly, with great Prudence, defended his faithful Subjects; which was so well-pleasing to Almighty God, that he took both King and Subjects under his gracious Protection: So that His Majesty did not only put a glorious End to a bloody War, but did likewife introduce a new Form of Government, advancing at once the Kingly Power to the highest Degree of Sovereignty, as well as the Happiness of the Subject: Which Revolution being certainly from God, was perfected in a very short Time: For no sooner was the Peace concluded after the raifing of the Siege of Copenhagen, but that the several States of the Kingdom did unanimously and willingly offer to the King our Grandfather, Frederick III. and to the lawful Heirs of his Body, whether Male or Female, an arbitrary or absolute Sovereignty over the Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, and the Lands and Provinces thereto belonging.

And this grand Resolution was executed on the 16th of October 1660. On which Day Our Grand-sather, of glorious Memory, was solemnly discharged, by the Nobility of the Kingdom, from the Obligation of his Coronation Oath; and on the 18th the Ecclesiasticks and Burghers did the same, by paying publick Homage to his Majesty, in the Presence of the Queen and all the Royal Family, and offering him and his

Heirs,

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Heirs, of both Sexes, an unlimited or despotick Power; which Homage they confirmed with a solemn Oath.

On the 17th of November following, the three States of the Kingdom were made acquainted, by a publick Instrument, that the King was for ever discharged from his Coronation Oath; and that the original Instrument signed by his Majesty upon that Occasion, or any Counterpart thereof, should be declared

null, and of none Effect.

And to give a finishing Stroke to this great Work, the Year following, there was an Instrument prepared, called an Act of Hereditary Right, or Absolute Power, which was figned and sealed by the principal Inhabitants of the Kingdom, whether Burghers, Lords, or Ecclefiasticks, viz. 'twas signed in Denmark the 10th of January 1661, in Norway the 7th of August of the same Year, in Iseland the 28th of July 1662, and in the Island Feroe on the 14th of August of the said Year. In which Instrument they did not only for themselves and Posterity confirm all that had been transacted by their Fellow-Subjects, with relation to the hereditary Succession; but did offer to his Majesty, and to his Heirs for ever, an Absolute Power and Authority to introduce what Form of Government He in his great Wisdom should judge proper; and likewise to regulate the Succession in his Royal Family according to his own Royal Discretion. Which Instrument, and other Documents thereto belonging, are safely preserved in our Archives, tho' at the same time We are very well persuaded that they are so deeply engraved on the Hearts of our loving Subjects, that they will never forget the Loyalty they owe to Us, and to our Royal Hereditary Family.

After Almighty God had conducted this great Work to this Degree of Perfection, our Grandfather, of glorious Memory, did not only take care to enact wholfome Laws suitable to the Nature of Absolute

Government,

Government, and to the Genius of the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms; but did likewise prescribe a Royal Law to bis own Heirs and Successors in the Government (for the preventing of all irregular Proceedings) wherein they may fee the unchangeable Order to be observed in the Succession to the End of the World. As touching this Royal Law, it is a well-digested Piece, and a Work of many Years, begun by our Grandfather, of glorious Memory, but finished in the Reign of our Father King Christian V. of bleffed Memory; who, in the Year 1683, did publish the Royal Law of Denmark, and in the Year 1687 did add thereto the Law of Norway; both which Laws were very beneficial to the Inhabitants. But as for the Royal Law introduced by King Frederick III. of glorious Memory, and given out by him on the 14th of November 1665, viz. four Years before his Death; it is to be look'd upon, and observ'd by all Degrees and Orders of Men, as an unchangeable, perfect, and fundamental Law of this Land.

And it is this Royal Law that We have judged proper to be printed Word for Word, with great Exactness, as it is in the Original; lest at any Time the original Documents might unhappily perish by any unforeseen Accident, and consequently no true Copy to be found; and likewise that many Princes and illustrious Persons, as well as the Inhabitants of this Land, may have a persect Knowledge of this Royal Law. Dated at Our Castle of Rosenburg, the 4th of September, in the Year 1709, under Our

Royal Hand and Seal.

FREDERICK R.

We

W E Frederick III. by the Grace of God, King of Denmark, Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, Duke of Slefwick, Holftein, Stormar, and Ditmarsh, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenborft, make known to all Men, whom it may concern, that after God in his infinite Wisdom had deliver'd our Royal House and Kingdoms from imminent Danger and Ruin threaten'd by a bloody War, by reftoring Peace and Tranquillity to this Land, he did at the fame Time graciously incline the Hearts of our Council, with the unanimous Concurrence of the feveral States of the Kingdom, to part with all their own Rights and Privileges, and to discharge Us from our Coronation Oath; making all Bonds and Deeds figned by us for preferving the Liberties of the People, to be Null, Void, and of none Effect: Declaring Us and the Heirs of Our Body, whether Male or Female, begot in lawful Marriage, as long as any of them are furviving, to have, according to their Seniority, an Abfolute Despotical Right to these our Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, with all the Badges of Sovereign Power, and Jura Majestatis. And these our loving Subjects did not by any Constraint or Force, but freely, after mature Confideration, devolve upon Us the faid Abfolute Sovereignty, impowering us to make Null and Void all Laws and Ordinances grounded upon our Coronation Oath, and particularly that relating to our dear Son Prince Christian, dated the 18th of June 1650; and another Act, entitled, A Provisional Disposition, dated the 9th of June 1651, or any other Law or Decree whatfoever, which may by any Way attaint or weaken our Absolute Hereditary Power; and enabling Us, at the same Time, to regulate

regulate the Succession both in the Male and Female Line; and to prescribe Directions for the Guardians of the Kings our Successors during their Minority. And therefore it is our good Will and Pleasure to give out a Royal Law, which our Subjects and their Posterity must observe and fwear to, as to the fundamental Law of this Realm; fo that neither We or Our lawful Heirs. or any of their Descendents, can either privately or publickly contravene or difobey; but on the contrary they are to bind themselves with an Oath to oppose all such that speak or act against this Royal Law, whether they be Natives or Foreigners; and are not to fuffer themselves to be influenced either with Fear or Love, with the Hope of Gain, or with the Apprehension of Damage, fo as to fpeak or act any Thing which may diminish our Despotick Power, by turning away from Us the Hearts of our loving Subjects. Wherefore We having in View the future Happiness of our People, do constitute and appoint this Royal Law to be observed by all our Successors, and by all the Inhabitants of these Kingdoms, from the Highest to the Lowest of them, as an unchangeable, perfect, and fundamental Law of this Land to the End of Time.

1. Seeing that all Things derive their Beginning from God, We will therefore in the first Place, in this Royal Law, recommend very particularly to our Children, and to their Children's Children, whether of the Male or Female Line, to a thousand Generations, the Worship of the true God, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and as set forth in the Confession of Ausburg; and that all the Inhabitants of this Land be protected in this Profession of the Christian Faith, against all

P 2

Sectaries,

Sectaries, Hereticks, and Revilers of the Christian

Religion.

2. The King of *Denmark* and *Norway* shall hereafter be esteemed, by all his Subjects, as independent upon Earth, acknowledging no higher Power than God only.

3. The King of Denmark shall have the highest Authority to make, alter, and repeal Laws, or dispense with them, as he shall think

proper.

4. All Employments and Offices, of what Nature and Denomination foever, shall be appointed by the King's Absolute Authority.

5. The King shall have Power of making Peace and War, forming Alliances, and laying Taxes upon the Inhabitants; because it is well known that a Kingdom's Peace cannot be maintained without an Army, and an Army cannot subsist without a Treasure.

6. The King shall have an absolute Authority in the Affairs of the Church, and all religious Assemblies. In a word, he shall enjoy all the Rights and Prerogatives which an Hereditary, Absolute, or Despotick King can enjoy.

7. All Ordinances and Rights relating to the Government, shall be issued out in the King's Name only, who, if of full Age, is to sign them

with his own Hand.

8. As foon as the King has entered upon his 14th Year, he shall declare himself to be of sull Age, and to be no longer under Tutors and Guardians.

9. The Guardianship of a Minor King shall be regulated by the last Will of his Predecessor: But in case the deceased King made no such Provision in his Testament, then the Queen, his Widow, if surviving, shall be Regent to the young

young King her Son, taking to her Affistance seven of the King's chief Counsellors, who shall manage the Government amongst them, deciding all Controversies by Majority of Votes, wherein the Queen is to have two, and each of the other seven Counsellors one. All Dispatches and Ordinances are to be issued out in the King's Name, and to be signed by the Queen and the said seven Counsellors.

10. If the Queen-Mother be dead, or married again, then shall the next Prince of the Blood, if in his 18th Year, and can always abide in the Kingdom, be Regent, and have two Votes, as aforesaid.

11. But if the Prince of the Blood is not in his 18th Year, then the faid seven chief Officers of the King shall manage the Regency, whereof every one of them is to have a Vote and equal Authority.

or by any other Accident is render'd uncapable for that high Employment, then another shall be immediately elected, and take his Place in the

Regency.

13. The faid Regents or Guardians shall not only promise Fidelity to the King, but shall likewise swear that they will exert their utmost Diligence to preserve the Absolute and Despotick Power in its sull Force and Virtue, during the Time of their Regency, as they shall answer to God and the King, that it may be transmitted to Posterity.

14. As foon as the seven Regents have taken their Oath of Fidelity to his Majesty, they shall immediately make an exact Inventory of all the Provinces, Cities, Fortresses, Jewels, Money, and of warlike Stores, both by Sea and Land, as P 3 well

well as of the King's Expences and Incomes; that it may thereby appear in what State and Condition the Kingdom is at that Time; and that the Regency may be by this Means enabled to give a good Account of their Administration to his Majesty as soon as he shall be of Age, or else be punished for abusing the Trust reposed in them.

15. This Kingdom of Denmark henceforth shall never be reputed to want a King; for in that very Moment that a King dies, the next Prince of the Blood is actually, without any farther Ceremony, an Hereditary Despotick or

Absolute King.

dom have invested us and our Descendents for ever, with an Absolute and Unlimited Sovereignty, all Forms and Ceremonies are Useless and Preposterous, because for the suture Our next Heirs will be born Kings, and not elected: Nevertheless, that all the World may see that the Kings of Denmark and Norway do reckon it their greatest Glory and Power to humble themselves before the Almighty God, and to be blessed of Him, by the Hands of the faithful Ministers of Christ, We therefore Will and Order that the Kings of Denmark be anointed solemnly in the Church with decent Ceremonies.

17. The King shall make no Oath of any Kind, whether by Word or Writing, to his Subjects, because neither Covenants nor Oaths can

bind an Hereditary Absolute Sovereign.

18. A King of Denmark may order himself to be anointed when he thinks proper, even during his Minority, the better to derive upon his Person and Subjects the Blessing of Almighty God; and as for the ceremonial Part, he may regulate it according to the Circumstances of Time and Place.

19. And

19. And feeing daily Experience teacheth Us, that the more powerful any Potentate or Monarch in united Provinces is, the more fecure he and his Subjects will be against foreign Invasions: Therefore We will and command, that these our Kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, with all the Provinces, Islands, Lordships, Fortresses, Jewels, ready Money, and all other Goods, and warlike Stores, both by Sea and Land, which we now posses, or which our Successors by any lawful Title hereafter may acquire, do all remain undivided in the Possession of one Absolute Hereditary King of Denmark and Norway.

20. And it is our Will and Pleasure that the other Children do content themselves with the Hope of Reigning when it comes to their Turn, and with honourable Maintenance, either in Money or Lands, the Incomes whereof they shall enjoy for their Lives, but the Property of it remaining still in the King; and the Provision which shall be made for the Queen-Dowager,

shall be on the same Foot.

21. That no Prince of the Blood do presume to marry, to go out of the Kingdom, or to engage himself in the Service of a foreign Prince,

without asking Leave of the King.

22. The King's Daughters and Sifters shall have a Maintenance suitable to their Quality, till they are married with the King's Consent and Approbation; and then are to have such Dowry, as the King, in his Wisdom, shall think sitting; they at the same Time declaring, in Writing under their Hands, that they will expect no more from his Majesty either for themselves or for their Children, but content themselves with the Hope of succeeding in the Government when it comes to be their Turn.

P 4 23. If

23. If it fo falls out at the King's Death, that the next Heir to the Crown shall happen to be then out of the Kingdom, he shall immediately return to his Kingdom of Denmark, to abide and to keep his Court there, and immediately take the Reins of Government in his own Hand. But in cafe he does not repair to his own Kingdom within the Space of three Months, reckoning from the Time that he has been apprifed of the Death of his Predeceffor, unless in case of Sickness, or fome other lawful Impediment, then the next apparent Heir to the Crown shall be declared Stateholder or Vicegerent, till his Majesty's happy Arrival in his Hereditary Dominions; in Purfuance of the Tenor of the Royal Law, in the Case of Minority and Guardianship already mentioned.

24. The Princes and Princesses in the Point of Precedence, shall take their Place immediately next to the King and Queen, and amongst themselves according to the Proximity of their Line, to the Hereditary Succession in the Government.

25. They shall never swear before any Judge, but before the King only, or by one immediately

delegated by his Majesty.

Explication of the Royal Law, is briefly comprehended in these Words: That the Hereditary Kings of Denmark and Norway may and do enjoy an Uncircumscribed and Unlimited Power and Authority, in the strongest Sense that any other Christian Hereditary and Despotick King can be said to enjoy the same; all which is likewise to be understood of the Hereditary Queens of Denmark and Norway, when the Succession salls into the Female Line. And seeing We are taught by daily and woeful Experience, that the Authority and Power of Kings are oftentimes undermined

by their own Ministers, in whom they repose the greatest Trust, and whom they most load with particular and daily Favours: Therefore We command that our Successors, the Hereditary Kings of Denmark and Norway, be very jealous in this Point, and with attentive Heed examine the Proceedings of their Ministers with relation to our Absolute Sovereignty, that so it may be transmitted without Spot or Blemish in its full Glory and Vigor to our latest Successors. And for the farther strengthening of the same, We Will and Command, that whofoever prefumes to fpeak or act any Thing which may be prejudicial to our Absolute Power and Authority, be proceeded against as a Traytor to our Crown and Dignity, and be feverely punish'd as usually in Case of High-Treason.

27. Having already ordered, that the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and the Provinces thereto belonging, remain for *Ever* undivided:

We shall now proceed, for the preventing of Discord hereaster in Our Royal Family, to regulate the Succession as particularly as can be. Therefore it is our Will and Pleasure, that as long as any of our Male Heirs, born in lawful Marriage, are living, that neither a Woman descending from the Male, nor Man nor Woman descending from the Female, shall be called to the Succession: Nor any Prince or Princess by the Mother's Side have any Right or Title to the same, as long as any Prince or Princess by the Father's Side are to be found; so that a Princess of the Masculine shall be preferred to a Prince descended of the Female Line.

28. When the Succession falls to a Princess of the Blood, She shall have the Preserence who is descended

descended from an Elder, rather than any other; and so on, as long as any of the Masculine Line doth survive: But when the Male Line is quite extinct, the *Princes* and *Princesses* of the Female Line shall take their Turn, and the same Order be observed in the Succession; that is to say, the Male is to go before the Female, and the Elder

is always to take place of the Younger.

an Example, and to take away all Handle of Contention from our own Children, when it shall please God to remove us from this earthly to a heavenly Kingdom, Prince Christian, our first-born Son, shall enjoy and possess the Hereditary Absolute Government of Denmark and Norway, and of all the Provinces and Lordships thereunto belonging; and as long as any of his Male Descendents are to be found (tho' he himself be dead before us) yet neither Prince George, nor any of his Family, nor his Sister, nor her Family, shall have any Right or Claim to the Crown of our Hereditary Kingdoms.

30. But when the Line of the Family of Prince Christian is quite extinct, then the Male Line of our Son Prince George shall possess the Absolute Government of these Kingdoms, observing the aforesaid Regulation, viz. The Male to go before the Female, and the Elder to go before the Younger, tho' he was born before his Father came to the Crown. And if it pleases Almighty God graciously to bless us with more Children, the same Method of Proceeding is to be observed

likewise with Relation to them.

31. But upon Supposition (which God forbid) that the Male Line should fail, then the Succession shall fall into the Share of the last King's Son's Daughter, and to her Heirs, if she hath any; but

in case she hath none, then the King's eldest Daughter and her Descendents, and then the second and her Descendents, one after another, Line after Line, the Male always to be preferred before the Female, and the Elder before the Younger.

32. But if the last King leaves neither Son nor Daughter behind him, then the next Princess of the Blood shall succeed in the Government.

33. Next to this shall a *Princess* who is nearest related to the King in the Male Line ascend the Throne, and her Descendents as aforesaid.

34. But if our Son's Families are become quite extinct, then the Princess Anne Sophia, and her Heirs to a thousand Generations, shall sway the

Scepter of these Kingdoms.

35. The Daughter of an elder Daughter shall be preferred to a Son of a younger Daughter, that the genealogical Order may not be disturbed, but that the second succeed the first, the third the second, the fourth the third, and so on.

36. But if the Succession falls to the Share of a Daughter's Son, and that he is blessed with Male Heirs, then the same Order is to be observed with regard to his Descendents, as has already been

prescribed to our Masculine Line.

37. The Queen's Husband shall have no Authority in these Kingdoms, however powerful a Prince he may be in his own Country, but shall give the Precedence to her in all Things, and obey her as the Hereditary Sovereign Queen of Denmark and Norway.

38. Amongst our Sons and Daughters who have Right to succeed in the Government, post-humous Children, born after their Father's Death, are justly accounted such, and shall in their Turn, as well as the others, succeed in the Government.

39. And

39. And for the better preventing the Collateral Lines from being difturbed and confounded for the Time to come, We Will and Command, when at any Time for the future a Son or Daughter is born in any of the Branches of the Royal Family, that the Parents (if they expect their Children should have any Right to the Crown do transmit the Names of that Prince or Princess, and the Day of their Birth, to the King, that they may be duly register'd; and that they, on the other hand, do defire his Majesty to grant them an Instrument, acknowledging that he had been made acquainted with the Birth of the faid Prince or *Princes*; a Counterpart whereof shall be carefully kept in our Archives, that by this Means the Genealogy of our Royal House may be kept clear and undifturbed.

40. All that has been spoken hitherto of Sons and Daughters, is to be understood of those begot

in lawful Marriage.

Thus have We, according to the best Direction of Human Prudence, made Provision for the subjects: But the best concerted Schemes of Human Policy are still in the Hands of Almighty God, into whose gracious Protection and satherly Providence We most humbly recommend our Kingdoms, and all our loyal Subjects, to the End of the World.

Dated at our Court in Copenhagen, the fourteenth of Navember 1665, and figned

FREDERICK.

AN

# ACCOUNT

OF

# SUEDEN,

As it was in the YEAR 1688.

Together with an

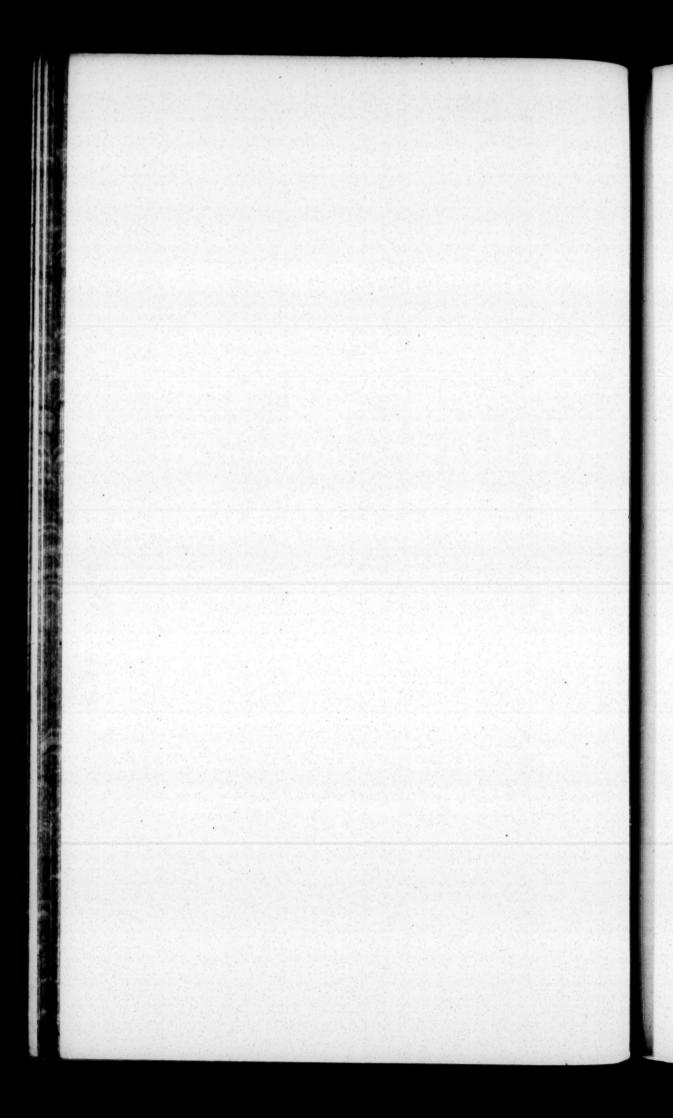
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HISTORY of that KINGDOM.

The FOURTH EDITION, with Additions.

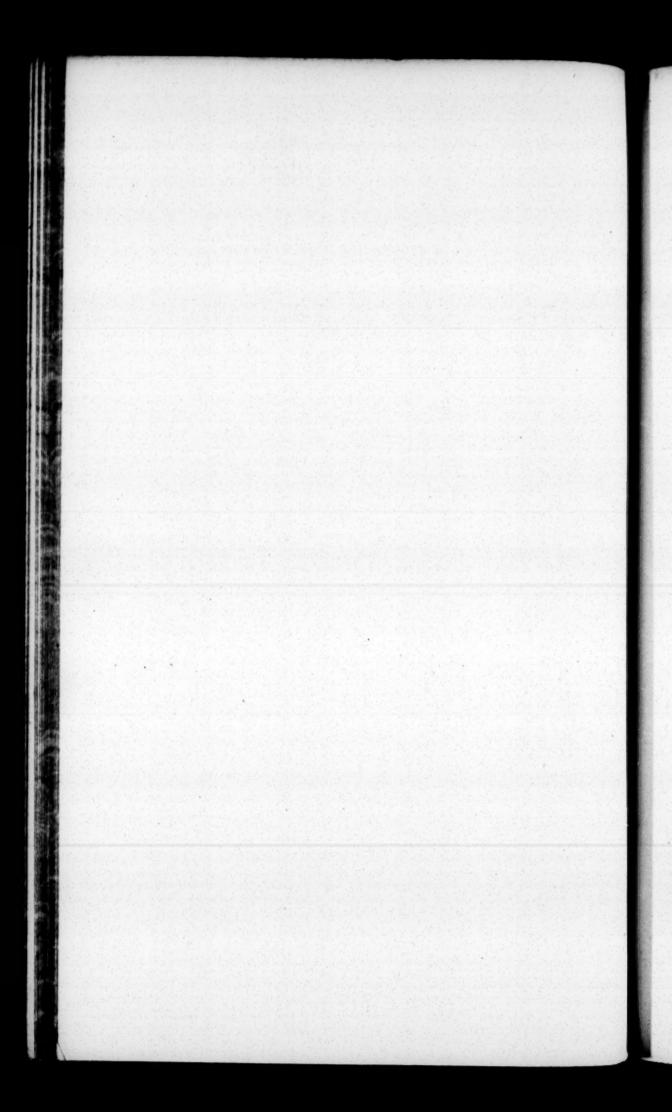
LONDON:
Printed in the YEAR 1738.



#### ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Account was first published in 1694, by the general Title of An Account of Sueden, and had two Editions afterwards. The present Publisher judging it very material for the Reader to be informed in what Year it was drawn up, has on due Inquiry found it was in 1688: Wherefore he has added to the Title of this Edition, As it was in the Year 1688.

The reputed Author of this Account refided at the Court of Sueden in 1679, and for above twenty Years afterwards.





THE

# PUBLISHER

[of the First Edition in 1694]

TOTHE

# READER.

HE kind Reception which the Publick has given to a late Book, call'd An Account of Denmark, (whereof three large Editions have come abroad in less than three Months) encouraged me to seek after an Account of Sueden. I found all forts of People desirous to be informed in the State of this other Northern Crown.

After diligent Enquiry, I was at last so fortunate as to light on this Account in Manuscript, written some sew Years ago by a very able and learned Gentleman; and hearing that several Copies of it were got abroad, I consider'd it might at last chance to come forth in Print less correct than at present I undertake to give it the World, whom I pretend

202 The Publisher to the READER.

pretend to oblige by a very accurate Edition; infomuch that I hope the Author himself will not be offended at this Undertaking, since 'tis likely 'twould have been published by others, not so well to his Advantage.

You will find here a Relation of Matter of Fact only, though I will venture to fay a very exact one, and such as I doubt not but will be very entertaining to the Reader.

What Shares the Clergy, the Army, or the Court, had in the Management of Affairs from time to time in Sueden, we have reason to believe are faithfully delivered here, the ingenious Author of this Account being a Person of so known and established a Reputation.

For so much as relates to my publishing this Book, I confess ingenuously, 'tis as unknown to the \* Author, as his Person is to me; but his Candor, Parts, and Learning appear plainly enough by this Work, and that he took great Care and Pains to compile it. If it prove to the Satisfaction of the Publick, as I doubt not but it will, I shall not lose my Labour, nor you the Pleasure and Benefit of it.

AN

<sup>\*</sup> The reputed Author was at the Court of Sueden in 1694, when this Book was published here.



AN

# ACCOUNT

OF

# SUEDEN.

# CHAP. I. Of SUEDEN in general.



HE Dominions subject to the Crown of Sueden, have, in this and the last Age, been so enlarged by the Acquisitions, or (as some call them) Encroachments made upon all their Neighbours, that they do not pro-

perly fall under one general Description, the Qualities and Characters of some of its Provinces being as different as their Situation: So that the short View here offer'd will not reach the more distant Parts, but chiefly respects the Kingdom of Q 2 Sueden,

Sueden, and Dukedom of Finland; which have the Baltick Sea on the South, the unpaffable Mountains of Norway on the West, Lapland on the North, and Moscovy on the East; being extended from 56 to 69 Degrees of Northern Latitude, and from 32 to 55 in Longitude; and confequently are more than twice as big as the Kingdom of France: But the Abatements that must be made for several Seas, and many great Lakes, some whereof are above 80 English Miles long and 20 broad, as also for Rocks, Woods, Heaths, and Morasses, that cover very much of these Countries, will reduce the habitable Part to a very small Portion, comparatively to the Extent of the Whole.

The Soil in Places capable of cultivating is tolerably fruitful, though feldom above half a Foot deep; and therefore more eafily plowed, as it frequently is by one Maid and an Ox, and is generally best where there is least of it, that is, in the little Spaces between the Rocks; and frequently the barren Land enriched with the Ashes of Trees growing on the Places that are burnt, and the Seed raked among the Ashes, produces a plentiful Crop without farther Cultivation.

This Practice is so ancient, that their Writers derive the Name of Sueden from a Word in their Language that expresses it; but the Danger of destroying the Woods has of late occasioned some

Laws to limit that Cuftom.

If the Inhabitants were industrious, above what Necessity forces them to, they might at least have Corn sufficient of their own; but as things are managed, they have not, nor can subsist without great Importations of all Sorts of Grain from the Country of Liesland, and other Parts of Germany, adjacent to the Baltick Sea: And notwithstanding these

these Supplies, the poorest Sort in many Places remote from Traffick are fain to grind the Bark of Birch-Trees to mix with their Corn and make Bread, of which they have not always Plenty.

The Cattle, as in other Northern Countries, are generally of a very fmall Size; neither can the Breed be better'd by bringing in larger from abroad, which foon degenerate; because in Summer the Grass is much less nourishing than in the Places from whence they came; and in the Winter they are usually half starved for want of Fodder of all Kinds, which often falls fo very short, that they are forced to unthatch their Houses to keep a part of their Cattle alive. Their Sheep bear a very coarse Wool, only fit to make Cloathing for the Peafants. The Horses, especially the Finnish, tho' fmall, are hardy, vigorous, strong, fure-footed, and nimble Trotters, which is of great Use to them, because of the Length of their Winters, and their Fitness for Sleds, which is their only Carriage in that Seafon; and the Soldiers do pretend, that in War they are not only able to refift, but to break a Body of the best German Horfe.

Of wild Beafts, which are very plentiful in thefe Parts, Bears, Elks, Deer, and Hares, are hunted for their Flesh; as also, together with Wolves, Foxes, Wild-Cats, &c. for their Furs They hunt with less Ceremony than and Hides. elfewhere is used, taking all Advantages to shoot their Game, at which they are generally very dextrous. Parks there are but few, and meanly stock'd, the Charge of feeding Deer all Winter exceeding the Profit, and abating the Pleasure of them. There are no Rabbets in these Countries but what are brought in for Curiofity, and kept In Winter Foxes and Squirrels somewhat change 1 .

change Colour, and become greyish, but Hares turn white as Snow.

Fowl both wild and tame are very plentiful and good in their Kind, except Sea Fowl, which feed and taste of Fish: The most common are Orras and Keders, the former of the Bigness of a Hen, the other of a Turkey; as also Partridges, and a Bird fomewhat refembling them called Yerpers. There are taken in Winter great Numbers of small Birds, as Thrushes, Blackbirds, and Sydensewans; the last of the Bigness of Veldefares; but better Meat, supposed to come from Lapland, or yet farther North; and have their Name from the Beautifulness of their Feathers, some of which are tipt at the Point with Scarlet. Pigeons there are; those of the Woods very rare, because of the Hawks; and of the House-Pigeons none but what are kept tame, because their Food is scarce, and the Danger of the Hawks great if they go Eagles, Hawks, and other rapacious Fowl, abound most in the Northern and Defert Parts, whither Nature feems to call them, as may be gathered from a Story, credibly related, of a large Hawk shot some Years ago in the Northern Parts of Finland, which had on one Leg a finall Plate of Gold with this Inscription, Je suis au Roy; on the other, one of Silver, with these Words, Duc de Chevereuse me garde.

The chiefest Lakes in Sueden are the Vetter, the Wenner, and Maeler; the first in Ostrogothia, remarkable for its foretelling of Storms, by a continual thundering Noise the Day before in that Quarter whence they arise; as also for the sudden breaking of the Ice upon it, which sometimes surprizes Travellers, and in half an Hour becomes navigable: For its great Depth, in some Places above 300 Fathom, tho no Part of the Baltick

the

Sea exceed 50. It supplies the River Motala, which runs through Norcopingh, where it has a Fall of about 30 Foot, and some Winters is so choak'd up with Ice, that for many Hours no Water passes. The second is in Westrogothia, from which iffues the River Elve, that, falling down a Rock near fixty Foot, passes by Gottenburgh. The third empties itself at Stockholm, furnishing one Side of the Town with fresh Water, as the Sea does the other with falt. These, and abundance of other Lakes, whereof many, like Ponds, have no Vents, and are called In-Seas, are not ill stored with Variety of Fish, Salmon, Pikes, Perch, Tench, Trouts, Eels, and many other Sorts unknown elfewhere; of which the most plentiful is the Streamling, a Fish less than a Pilcher, taken in great Quantities, and falted in Barrels, and distributed over all the Country. Besides, the North-Bottom, or Bay that separates Sueden and Finland, abounds with Seals, of which a confiderable Quantity of Train-Oil is made and exported; and in the Lakes in Finland are vast Quantities of Pikes, which, being taken, are falted, dried, and fold at very cheap Rates.

These Lakes are of great Use for the Convenience of Carriages, both in Summer by Boats, and by Sleds in Winter: And among them, and on the Sea-Coasts, are almost innumerable Islands of different Sizes, whereof there are in Sueden above 6000 that are inhabited; the rest are either bare Rocks, or covered with Wood. Oland, and Aland, are Isles of large Extent, one being fixty Miles long, and the others little less.

Their Woods and vast Forests overspread much of the Country, and are for the most part of Pines, Fir, Beech, Birch, Alder, Juniper, and some Oak, especially in the Province of Bleaking;

the Trees growing in most Places so close together, and lying to rot where they fall, that the

Woods are scarce passable.

These afford a plentiful and cheap Firing, and being generally very strait and tall, are easily convertible into Timber sit for all Uses. In the Parts near the Mines, the Woods are much destroyed; but that Want is so well supplied from distant Places by the Convenience of Rivers and Winter-Carriages, that they have Charcoal above six times as cheap as it is in England, the indeed

it is not half fo good.

Of Mines in Sueden, there is one of Silver, into which Workmen are let down in Baskets to the first Floor, which is 105 Fathom under Ground; the Roof there is as high as a Church, supported by vast Arches of Oar; thence the Descent is by Ladders or Baskets to the lowest Mine, above 40 Fathom, where they now work. They have no Records fo ancient as the first Discovery either of this or the Copper Mine, which must needs have been the Work of many Ages. The Oar feldom yields above 4 per Cent. and requires great Pains to refine it: They are also at the Charge of a Water-Mill to drain the Mine, and have the Benefit of another that draws up the Oar. It yearly produces about twenty thousand Crowns of fine Silver, of which the King has the Pre-emption, paying one fourth less than the real Value. The Copper Mine is about 80 Fathom deep, of great Extent, but subject to Damage by the falling in of the Roof; yet that is sometimes recompensed by the Abundance of Oar that the ruined Pillars yield, tho' most commonly the Loss in that Case is very great: The Occasion of which Falls is attributed to the throwing the Earth and Stones, brought out, upon the Ground over the Mine, by which

which the Pillars become over-charged, and give way; and the Reason of this is said to be, that the Profit arifing to those that are concerned is fo little, that they are not able to work it off as they ought; and unless the King abates a confiderable Part of the Profit arising to the Crown from this Mine, 'tis believed it will in a few Years be at a stand, especially if the Designs of making Copper, that are on foot elsewhere, do take any tolerable Effect. The Copper yearly made out of this Mine amounts to the Value of about two hundred thousand Pounds, of which the King has a fourth Part, not by way of Pre-emption, but in Kind: Besides that upon the Remainder he has a Custom of 25 per Cent. when it is exported unwrought.

Lately a Gentleman of Italy came to Sueden with Propofals to make Copper a shorter and cheaper Way than has hitherto been practifed; as to make that in five Days, which before required three Weeks, and with one fifth Part of the Charcoal, and with fewer Hands. The Bargain was made, and his Reward agreed to be a hundred thousand Crowns. The first Proof he made fucceeded to Admiration; but when he came to work in earnest, and had got his new-invented Ovens built to his Mind, the Miners, as he complained, pick'd out the very worst Oar, and were otherwise so envious and untractable, that he failed of Success, and lost his Reward; and not without Difficulty obtained leave to buy Oar, and practife his Invention at his own Charge, as he now does.

Iron-Mines and Forges are in great Numbers, especially towards the mountainous Parts, where they have the Convenience of Water-falls to turn their Mills. From these, besides supplying the Country, there is yearly exported Iron to the

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Value of near three hundred thousand Pounds: But of late Years the Number of these Forges has been so much increased, that each endeavouring to under-sell others, the Price has been much lowered: And since the Prohibition of foreign Manufactures (in Exchange of which Iron was plentifully taken off) it is grown so cheap, that it is found necessary to lessen the Number of Forges: Neither has that Contrivance had the Essect intended, but on the contrary many more are like to fall of themselves, because they cannot work but to Loss: In which Case many Thousands of poor People, whose Livelihoods depend upon these Forges and Mines, will be reduced to a

starving Condition.

The Seafons of the Year, tho' regular in themfelves, do not altogether answer those of other Climates, as a French Ambaffador observed, who in Raillery faid, There were in Sueden only nine Months Winter, and all the rest was Summer; for as Winter commonly begins very foon, fo Summer immediately fucceeds it, and leaves little or no Space to be called Spring. The Productions therefore of the Earth ought to be, as they are, more speedy in their Growth than in other Parts; the Reason of which seems to be, that the Oil and Sulphur in the Earth (as it appears by the Trees and Minerals it produces) being bound up all the Winter, are then of a fudden actuated by the Heat of a warm Sun, which almost continually thines, and thereby makes amends for its fhort Stay, and brings to Maturity the Fruits proper to the Climate; yet withal, its Heat is so intense, that it often fets the Woods on fire, which sometimes spreads itself many Leagues, and scarce can be flopt till it come at some Lake, or very large Plain.

In the Summer Season the Fields are cloathed with Variety of Flowers, and the whole Country overspread with Strawberries, Rasberries, Currants, and the like, which grow upon every Rock. In their Gardens Melons are brought to good Persection in dry Years; but Apricocks, Peaches, and other Wall-fruits, are almost as rare as Oranges. They have Cherries of several Sorts, and some tolerably good, which cannot be said of their Apples, Pears, and Plumbs, that are neither common, nor well-tasted. All Kinds of Roots are in Plenty, and contribute much to the Nourishment of the poor People

ment of the poor People.

The Sun at highest is above the Horizon of Stockholm eighteen Hours and an half, and for fome Weeks makes a continual Day. In Winter the Days are proportionably shorter, the Sun being up but five Hours and a half; which Defect is fo well supplied as to Lights, by the Moon, and the Whiteness of the Snow, and Clearness of the Sky, that travelling by Night is as usual as by Day, and Journies begun in the Evening as frequently as in the Morning. The want of the Sun's Heat is repaired by Stoves within Doors, and warm Furs abroad; instead of which the meaner Sort use Sheep-skins, and other the like Defences, and are generally better provided with Cloathing, befitting their Condition, and the Climate they live in, than the common People of any Part of Europe; tho' where any Neglect or Failure happens, it usually proves fatal, and occasions the Loss of Noses or other Members, and fometimes of Life; unless the usual Remedy to expel the Frost when it has seized any Part be early applied, which is to remain in the Cold, and rub the Part affected with Snow till the Blood return to it again.

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What has been faid in relation to Sueden, is in the main applicable to Finland, except only that hitherto no Mines have been discovered there. Its chiefest Commodities are Pitch and Tar, all Sorts of Wooden-Ware, dried Fish, Cattle, Train Oil, &c.

The Remainder also of this Discourse, in what relates to the Laws, Government, Customs, and natural Dispositions of the People, equally belongs to them; with this Difference, that the Finlanders are rather more hardy and laborious, more clownish, ignorant, and superstitious than the Suedes.

#### CHAP. II.

Of the Provinces and Cities of Sueden.

Provinces, each of which is governed by an Officer call'd Landshofdingh, whose Authority comprehends that of Lord Lieutenant and Sherist together; except where there is a General Governor, as in Finland, and upon the Borders of Denmark and Norway, to whom the Governor of each Province is subordinate, and has thereby a more restrained Authority. These Officers are placed by the King, and take an Oath to keep the Province for his Majesty and his Heirs, to govern according to the Laws of Sueden, and such Instructions as they shall receive from his Majesty, and to quit the Province whenever he shall call them thence.

To them and their subordinate Officers (who are all of the King's chusing) the Execution of Judicial

Judicial Sentences, the Collection of the King's Revenues, the Care of Forests, Parks, and other

Crown Lands, &c. is committed.

Of Cities, those of Stockbolm, Gottenburgh, Calmar, and two or three more, may deferve that Name. The other Corporations, which in all make not an hundred, scarce exceed some Villages in England; they are all governed by Burgomafters, and Counfellors chosen by the King out of their own Body, or at least such as are of the Quality of Burghers, no Gentleman accepting of those Employments. Their Offices and Salaries are for Life, or rather during their good Be-The Privileges of Cities are derived haviour. from the King, and for the most part are owing to the Wisdom of Gustavus Adolphus, the Author of their best and most regular Constitutions at home, as well as of their Glory abroad.

The City of Stockholm lies in 59 Degrees 20 Min. North Latitude, and about 41 Longitude. About 300 Years ago it was only a bare Island, with two or three Cottages for Fishers; but upon the building of a Castle there, to stop the Inroads of the Russians, and the Translation of the Court thither, it grew by Degrees to surpass the other more ancient Cities, and it is at present the Metropolis of this Kingdom, and supposed to be

as populous as Bristol.

The Castle here, which is covered with Copper, is a Place of no Strength or Beauty, but of great Use, being a spacious Building, that, besides entertaining the Court, surnishes Room for most of the great Offices, the National Court of Justice, Colleges of War, Chancery, Treasury, Reduction, Liquidation, Commerce, Execution; as also an Armory, Chapel, Library, Archives, &c. It lodges very sew of the inferior Officers and Ser-

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vants of the Court; they, together with the Foot-Guards, being quartered upon the Burghers, at their Landlords Charge for Lodging, Fire and Candle.

In this City there are feven large Churches built of Brick, and covered with Copper, besides two more now building, and three or four Wooden

Chapels.

The Palace of the Nobility, which is the Place of their Assembly at the Convention of Estates, and the Depositary of their Privileges, Titles, and fush other Records as concern their Body, is a very stately Pile; as is also the Bank, built at the City's Charge; which, together with feveral magnificent Houses of the Nobility, are covered with Copper, and make a handsome Prospect. Most of the Burghers Houses are built with Brick, except in the Suburbs, where they are of Wood, and thereby exposed to the Danger of Fire, which commonly, when it gets to a Head, destroys all before it in the Quarter where it happens. To repair which Misfortune, they fometimes fend the Dimensions of the House they intend to build into Finland, where the Walls and feveral Separations are built of Pieces of Timber laid one upon another, and joined at the Corners, and afterwards mark'd, taken down, and fent by Water to Stockholm, there to be fet up and finish'd; and when they are kept in good Repair, will last thirty or forty Years, and are warmer, cleanlier, and more healthful than those of either Brick or To prevent the Danger of Fire, the City is divided into twelve Wards, and in each of these is a Master and four Assistants, who upon notice of any Fire are immediately to repair to it, as also all Porters and Labourers, and to range themselves under the Master of their respective Ward:

Ward: There is also a Fire-Watch by Night, who walks about only to that Purpose; and in each Church-Steeple Watch is kept, and a Bell tolled upon the first Appearance of any Fire.

The Government of this City is in the Hands of the Great Stadtholder, who is also a Privy Counfellor; he fits once a Week in the Town-House, and presides also in the College of Execution, affifted by an Under Stadtholder and the Bailiff of the Castle. Next to him are the four Burghmasters, one for Justice, another for Trade, the third for the Polity of the City, and the fourth has the Inspection over all publick and private Buildings, and determines fuch Cases as arise on that Account; with them the Counsellors of the City always fit and give their Votes, the Majority of which concludes. Their Number is uncertain, but usually about twenty, most Merchants and Shopkeepers, or fuch as have ferved the King in fome inferior Employments: And besides their Salary, they have an Immunity from fuch Impofitions as are laid on the Inhabitants, to support the Government of the City, which pays all its Officers and Servants, and maintains a Guard of 300 Men, and defrays the Charge of all publick Buildings and Repairs. To support this Expence, besides a Duty belonging to the City, upon Goods imported and exported, (which is about 4 per Cent. of the Customs paid the King, and amounts to about 4000 l. per Ann.) the Magistrates impose a yearly Tax on the Burghers, in which they are affifted by a Common-Council of forty-eight (which chuses its own Members) and meets every Spring to proportion the Payments for the enfuing Year. On the richer Traders they usually impose 40, 50, or 60 l. Sterling; and upon others of a meaner Condition, as Shoemakers, Taylors,

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Taylors, &c. 5 or 61. and no Housekeeper less than 155. besides quartering the Guards, inferior Officers, and Servants of the Court, with other lesser Charges; which all together would be thought a great Burden even in richer Countries; neither is it otherwise esteemed by the Inhabitants of this City, who can scarce be kept in heart by the Privileges they enjoy, as well in Customs as in the Trade of the Place, which must needs pass through their Hands; the Natives of other Parts of the Kingdom, as well as Foreigners, being obliged to deal only with the Burghers, except those of the Gentry that make Iron, who have a Privilege to sell it immediately to Strangers.

This City is in a manner the Staple of Sueden, to which most of the Goods of their own Growth, viz. Iron, Copper, Wire, Pitch, Tar, Masts, Deals, &c. are brought to be exported. The greatest Part of the Commodities imported from abroad come to this Port, where there is a Haven capable of receiving 1000 Sail of Ships, and has a Bridge or Key near an English Mile long, to which the greatest Vessels may lie with their Broadsides: The only Inconvenience is, That it is ten Miles from the Sea, and the River very

crooked, and no Tides.

#### CHAP. III.

Of the Laws of Sueden.

THE Laws of Sueden were anciently as various as the Provinces were numerous, each of which had Statutes and Customs peculiar to itself, enacted as Occasion required by the Laghman

or Governor of the Province, who was chosen by the People, and invested with great Authority, especially while the Kingdom was elective, his Suffrage concluding the Province he governed. This Variety was necessarily attended with great Confusion; for remedy whereof, about fourscore Years ago, one Body of Laws was compiled for the Direction of the whole Kingdom; yet this Collection is but an imperfect Piece, and the Laws fo few, and conceived in fuch general Terms, that in most Cases they need the Assistance of the Civil Law; and after all, the final Determination depends much upon the Inclinations of the Bench; which in a poor Country, where Salaries are fmall, is often filled with fuch as are of weak Parts, and subject to Corruption upon very fmall Temptations. The Effects of this would be more visible, if each superior Court did not keep a Cheque upon the lower, and the King's Court of Revision over-awe them all, to which all Civil Causes importing the Sum of 70%. are appealable; and very few end before they have been brought thither. In this supreme Court his Majesty very frequently sits with great Patience and Application, and in feven Years time has determined more Causes, than the Senators did in twenty before.

His Majesty is observed always to make a short

mental Prayer at first sitting down there.

In this Court the President of the Chancery, and two or three other Privy Counsellors, do also sit; so does the Chancellor of the Court (an Officer next in Degree to a Privy Counsellor) who is President of the Under-Revision, where he and two Secretaries do put Business into a Mothod sit to be brought before the King.

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The Courts of Justice inferior to this are of three Degrees: Of the lowest Degree, or first Instance, there is one in each Corporation, (besides Stockbolm, in which there are three) as also in each District or Territory, whereof every Province contains several, some above twenty: In the former (Cities) an Alderman or Counsellor presides, and has some of his Brethren for Assistants; in the latter the Governor of the Territory, with a standing Jury; his Court is Ambulatory, and usually kept near or upon the Place where the Fact

or Trespass was committed.

In these Courts Examinations are taken, and Matters not exceeding Forty Shillings are determined, the rest transmitted to the next superior Court, of which in every Corporation there is one, where the Burghmafter is Prefident, and the Aldermen Affistants; and so in every Province there is one or more of these Courts, the President whereof retains the Name of Laghman, without other Authority than that of a Judge: From these all Causes of Blood must be transmitted to the respective National Courts, where they are determined without further Appeal; and thither also all Civil Actions, not exceeding 201. may be appealed. Of these National Courts there are three; one for the Kingdom of Sueden, held at Stockholm; another for the Kingdom of Gothia, kept at Jencopingh; and a third for the Dukedom of Finland, at Abo: In each of these a Privy Counfellor is President, and above half the Asfessors are to be Gentlemen. All these Courts sit continually, or at most have but short Vacations; and not being peftered with too much Formality, give Causes a speedy Dispatch, unless they be retarded by fome under-hand Engagements.

Actions relating to the Sea are triable in the ordinary Courts, according to their Sea-Laws, founded upon those ancient ones of Wisby in Gothland, which have formerly been as famous in the Baltick Sea, as the Laws of Rhodes and Oleron in other Places. The Court of Admiralty has not any peculiar Jurisdiction in the Administration of these Laws, but only in such Matters as directly concern the King's Fleet, and in some Places that belong immediately to the Admiralty.

For Causes Ecclesiastical there is a Consistory in each Diocese, of which the respective Bishop is President, where Causes of Bastardy, Contracts of Marriage, and other Matters of that Nature are tried, and Church-Censures of Penance, Divorce, &c. inflicted. These Courts have not Power to administer an Oath, nor to inflict any corporal Punishment. From them there lies an Appeal to the respective National Court, and in some Cases

to the King, as in all other Matters.

For Matters relating to the Mines, besides inferior Courts and Officers settled in the respective Parts of the Country, a General Court, called the College of the Mines, sits at Stockholm, of which most commonly the President of the Treasury is chief, with a Vice-President, and other Assessor. The Laws in this regard are more exact and particular than in other Matters, and for the most

part Justice very carefully administred.

The Power of executing all Judicial Sentences is lodged in the Governors of the Provinces, the Stadtholders of Stockholm and other Places, and from them derived to inferior Officers, who are accountable to the National Courts; whither they may be convened and punished upon plain Proof of Default. But the Proof being difficult, and Ministers of Justice apt to favour each other, they

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take great liberty to delay Execution, or to arbitrate and put their own Sense upon Sentences; so that this part of Justice is administred the worst of all others, and has an Influence not only at home, but lessens the Credit of the Suedish Subjects abroad, against whom Justice cannot be ob-

tained without great Difficulty.

The ordinary Charges of Law-Suits are no where more moderate than in Sueden; the greatest Burden arising from a late Constitution, That all Declarations, Acts, and Sentences, must be written upon sealed Paper of different Prices, from Twopence to Seven Shillings a Sheet, according to the Quality of the Cause; the Benefit of which accrues to the King, and is computed to bring in about 3000 l. a Year: Other Charges are very sew, every Man being permitted (in criminal Actions compelled) to plead his own Cause. Accordingly the Practice of the Law is below a Gentleman, and rather the Resuge than the Choice of meaner Persons; who are very sew in Number, and for the most part very poor.

The Custom of a Jury of twelve Men is so ancient in Sueden, that their Writers pretend it had its Original among them, and was thence derived to other Nations; but at present it is disused every where, except only in the lower Courts in the Country, and there the Jurymen are for Life, and have Salaries: They have this peculiar to themselves, that among them there must be an unanimous Concurrence to determine a Cause, which in other Courts is done by a Majority of

Voices.

Titles to Estates are rendred more secure, and less subject to Contests, by the Registers that are kept of all Sales and Alienations, as well as of other Engagements of them; the Purchaser run-

ning

ning the hazard of having an After-bargain takeplace of his, if he omit the recording of his

Transaction in the proper Court.

In criminal Matters, where the Fact is not very evident, or where the Judges are very favourable, the Defendant is admitted to purge himself by Oath, to which is oftentimes added the Oath of fix or twelve other Men, who are all Vouchers of

his Integrity.

Treason, Murder, double Adultery, burning of Houses, Witchcraft, and the like heinous Crimes, are punished with Death, which is executed by hanging of Men, and beheading of Women; to which burning alive or dead, quartering and hanging in Chains, is sometimes added, according to the Nature of the Crime. Criminals of the Gentry and Nobility are usually shot to death.

The Punishment of Stealing is of late, instead of Death, changed into a kind of perpetual Slavery, the guilty Party being condemned to work all his Life for the King, in making Fortifications, or other Drudgery, and always has a Collar of Iron about his Neck, with a Bow coming over his Head, to which is a Bell fastened that rings as

he goes along.

Duels between Gentlemen, if the one Party be kill'd, are punish'd with the Survivor's Death, and a Note of Infamy upon the Memory of both: If neither be killed, they are both condemned to a Prison, with Bread and Water, for two Years; to which is added a Fine of 1000 Crowns, or one Year's Imprisonment and 2000 Crowns. Reparation of Honour, in case of Affront, is referred to the respective National Court, where Recantation and publick begging of Pardon is usually inflicted.

Estates,

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Estates, as well acquired as inherited, descend to the Children in equal Portions, of which a Son has two, and a Daughter one; nor is it in the Power of the Parents to alter this Proportion without the Intervention of a Judicial Sentence in case of their Childrens Disobedience; only they may bequeath a Tenth of their acquired Poffeffions to fuch Child, or other, as they will fa-Where an Estate descends incumber'd vour. with Debts, the Heir usually takes two or three Months time, as the Law allows, to fearch into the Condition of the Deceased's Estate, and then either accepts the Inheritance, or leaves it to the Law, which in that case administers; as lately, besides other Instances, was practifed upon the Decease of the late Rix Drost Count Magnus De la Gardie, the King's Uncle.

### CHAP. IV.

Of the natural Inclinations and Dispositions of the Suedes.

THE Nature of the Climate, which affords a very healthful and dry, as well as sharp Air, disposes the Natives to a vigorous Constitution; and that confirm'd by a hardy Education, coarse Fare, hard Lodgings, &c. qualifies them to endure whatever uneasy Circumstances befal them, better than those that are born in a more moderate Country, and more indulgently bred.

But on the other fide it feems as if the Severity of the Clime should in a manner cramp the Faculties of their Bodies, and indispose them for any great Degree of Dexterity and Nimbleness; and the same may be said in a great measure of their Minds too, which seldom are found endued with any eminent Share of Vivacity or Pregnancy of Wit; yet by Industry, Experience, and Travelling, not a sew of them arrive at a mature and solid Judgment, being led by their Genius to serious Things, in which they that have Patience to go through with the Studies they apply themselves to, become excellent, and merit the Title of great and able Men; but this seems not to be the Talent of this Nation, they being generally more apt to sit down with superficial Acquisitions, than to pursue their Studies to a fundamental Degree.

This Disposition of Body and Mind qualifies them more for a Life of Labour and Fatigue, than of Art and Curiosity; and the Effect of it is

visible in all Orders of Men among them.

The Nobility mostly apply themselves to a military Life, in which they are more famous for Courage, and enduring Hardships, than for Stratagems and Intrigues. They that are employed in the Administration of Civil Assairs, tho' they are indeed laborious and indefatigable in their Business, yet they seldom raise their Speculations above what the Necessity of their Employments require, their Abilities proceeding not so much from Study, as Experience in the Tract of Business.

In point of Learning they, like their Neighbours the Germans, are more given to transcribe, and make Collections, than digest their own Thoughts; and commonly proportion their Studies to their Occasions.

In Matters of Trade they more easily do the Drudgery, than dive into the Mystery, either of R 4 Commerce

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Commerce or Manufactures, in which they ufually fet up for Masters before they be half taught; fo that in all fuch things as require Ingenuity, Neatness, or Dexterity, they are forc'd to be ferved by Strangers. Their common Soldiers endure Cold and Hunger, and long Marches, and hard Labour, to Admiration; but they learn their Duty very flowly, and are ferviceable more by their Obedience to Command, and standing their Ground, than by any great Forwardness to attack their Enemy, or in Nimbleness and Addrefs in executing their Orders; and fo their Peafants are tolerably laborious when Need compels them, but have little regard to Neatness in their Work, and are hardly brought to quit their old, flow, and toilfome Methods, for fuch new In-

ventions as are more dextrous and eafy.

The Dispositions more peculiar to the several Degrees of these People are, That the Nobility and Gentry are naturally Men of Courage, and of a warlike Temper, have a graceful Deportment, inclined to value themselves at a high rate, and make the best Appearance they possibly can, that they may gain the Respect of others; and are therefore more excessive in the Number of their Attendants, fumptuous Buildings, and rich Apparel, than in the Plentifulness of their Tables, or other less observed Occasions. They never descend to any Employments in the Church, the Practice of Law or Physick, or the Exercise of any Trade; and tho' to gain Experience in maritime Affairs, they submit to the lowest Offices abroad, yet at home there is but one Example known of a Gentleman that accepted the Command of a Merchant's Ship.

The Clergy are but moderately learned, and little acquainted with the Disputes about Religion,

as having no Adversaries to oppose; they affect Gravity and long Beards, are esteemed for their Hospitality, and have great Authority among the common People. The Burghers are not very intelligent in Trade, nor able to do their Business without Credit from abroad; rather inclined to impose upon those they can over-reach, than follow their Calling in a fair way. The Peafants, when fober, are very obsequious and respectful, but Drink makes them mad and ungovernable; most of them live in a very poor Condition, and are taught by Necessity to practife several Arts in a rude manner, as the making their Shoes, Cloaths, &c. the feveral Instruments of Husbandry; and other Necessaries, that they cannot spare Money to buy: And to keep them to this. as also to favour the Cities, it is not permitted to more than one Taylor, or other fuch Artifan, to dwell in the fame Parish, tho' it be never so large, as many of them are above twenty Miles in compass.

In general it may be faid of the whole Nation, that they are a People very religious in their way, and conftant Frequenters of the Church; eminently loyal and affected to Monarchy; grave even to Formality; fober, more out of Necessity than Principles of Temperance; apt to entertain Suspicions, and to envy each other as well as Strangers; more inclined to pilfering, and such secret Frauds, than to such open Violences, as breaking of Houses, or robbing on the Highways; Crimes as rarely committed in this, as in

any Country whatever.

### CHAP. V.

Of the Religion of SUEDEN.

THRISTIANITY was not received into Sueden till about the beginning of the ninth Century, and not into Finland till near three hundred Years after; and if not first preached, was at least first established by English Divines; of whom the chiefest was St. Sigfrid, who, as their Histories relate, quitted the Archbishoprick of York to become the Apostle of the Goths, as they stile him. With him three of his Nephews that he brought thither were martyred by the Heathen Goths: So also was St. Eskill, and other English, by the Suedes. And about the Year 1150, Saint Henry, an English Bishop, accompanied St. Erick, King of Sueden, in his Expedition to Finland, which the King conquered, and the Bishop converted into Christianity: He also was martyred by the Infidels, and lies buried at Abo, the Metropolis of that Country.

The Reformation, as well there as in Denmark and Norway, began foon after the neighbouring Parts of Germany had embraced Luther's Tenets, and was established according to his Platform. The Tyranny of King Christian the Second, who then wore these three Northern Crowns, gave an Opportunity to Gustavus, the Founder of the present Royal Family, both to alter Religion, and advance himself to the Regal Dignity, which till that Time was elective, but was then made hereditary to his Family, in which it has since continued, as the Lutheran Religion has also done in

the Country, never but once disturbed from abroad; and since that Disturbance never distracted at home with Nonconformity, all the Orders of Men agreeing in a constant Attendance on divine Service, and a Zeal for their own Way, without any nice Enquiries into disputable Points, either in their own Tenets, or those of other Churches; whereby it becomes the Business of their Preachers, rather to persuade the Practice of Piety, than to oppose the Doctrine of others, or defend their own.

The Church is governed by an Archbishop and ten Bishops, whose Studies are confined to their own Employments; being never called to Council, but only at the Assembly of the States, nor troubled with the Administration of any fecular Affair: Their Revenues are very moderate, the Archbishop of Upsal not importing 400 l. a Year, and the Bishopricks after that Proportion. Under them are feven or eight Superintendants, who have all the Power of Bishops, and only want the Name; and over each ten Churches is a Provost or Rural Dean, with some Authority over the inferior Clergy, of whom the Sum total may best be computed by the Number of Churches, which in Sueden and Finland is short of two thousand; to which the Addition of Chaplains and Curates will increase the Body of the Clergy to near four thousand Persons. all the Sons of Peafants or mean Burghers, and can therefore content themselves with the small Income of their Places, which, besides more inconfiderable Dues, arises from Glebe-Lands, and one Third of the Tithes, of which the other two Thirds are annexed to the Crown, to be employ'd in pious Uses. However, the Clergy have generally wherewithal to exercise Hospitality, and are the the constant Refuge of poor Travellers, especially Strangers, who use to go from Priest to Priest, as elsewhere from Constable to Constable.

The Clergy of each Diocese, upon the Death of their Bishop, propose three Persons to the King, who either chuses one of them, or some other, to succeed in that Office; which is also practised in the Choice of Superintendants. In the Choice of an Archbishop all the Chapters in the Kingdom vote, but the Determination is altogether in the King's Breast. His Majesty hath also the Patronage of most Churches, some sew only being in the Disposal of the Nobility. Many of their Churches are adorn'd with Variety of Sculptures, Painting, Gilding, &c. All of them are kept neat and clean, and in good Repair, furnish'd, as well in Country as City, with rich Altar-Cloths, Copes, and other Vestments.

For the more regular Government of the Church, it has been found necessary to cause the ancient Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons to be revised by a Committee chosen out of the several Bodies of the Estates; who spent some Years in that Matter, and at last presented the King with a new System of Church Laws; wherein his Majesty having caused such Alterations to be made as he thought sit, has lately approved and published them.

Of these some that concern their Religion in general, shall here be taken notice of. By these new Canons it is ordain'd, that

"If any Suedish Subject change his Religion, he shall be banish'd the Kingdom, and lose all

"Right of Inheritance both for himself and his

" Descendents.

" If any continue excommunicated above a "Year, he shall be imprisoned a Month with

" Bread and Water, and then banish'd.

"If any bring into the Country Teachers of another Religion, he shall be fined and ba"nished.

" Foreign Ministers shall enjoy the free Exer-" cise of their Religion only for themselves and " Families.

"Strangers of a different Religion shall have no publick Exercise of it; and their Children shall be baptized by Lutheran Ministers, and educated in that Religion; otherwise they shall not have the Privileges of Suedish Subjects.

These Laws, as they oblige the Clergy to a more constant Attendance on all the Parts of their Duty, than has formerly been practifed, fo they require the Laity to frequent the Church on all Occasions; and the Civil Magistrates, especially on Days of great Solemnity, make very strict Search, and punish such as are found absent from Church, without a just Excuse, with Imprisonment and other Severities: But the Clergy are not intrusted with the sole Administration of these Laws, nor impower'd by them to transact Matters of any great Moment, without the Concurrence of the Civil Power; for besides that many Causes, formerly triable in Ecclefiaftical Courts, are now transferr'd to the Secular Magistrates, the King referves to his own Cognizance feveral Cafes of that Kind, especially the Point of Excommunication, which the Clergy are not permitted to pronounce against any one, till the King hath been acquainted with the Case, and gives leave; which Caution is used because of the Consequence, which is the Loss of a Subject.

#### CHAP. VI.

Of the Universities of Sueden.

Less pretend, can plead no great Antiquity in this Country, the Institution of an University at Upsal being not above three hundred Years ago, and sew Monuments extant of a more ancient Date, but only Funeral Inscriptions rudely cut upon Rocks and unhewn Stones, which are every where sound; but as they have no Date, so they seldom express more than the Names of Persons, of whom no other Memory remains. That which makes them most remarkable is, that they are writ in the ancient Gothic Language, and the Runick Character.

The most curious Piece of Learning among them, is a Translation of the Evangelists into the Gothic Tongue, done about twelve or thirteen hundred Years ago by Ulphila, a Bishop of the Goths in Thracia, of which they have the fole ancient Manuscript Copy that is known to be in the World. Since the Reformation, Gustavus Adolphus was the first great Patron Learning had in this Country, by whom the Universities that had been much impair'd were endow'd with tolerable Salaries for Profesfors in most Sciences. These his Daughter Queen Christina somewhat augmented, and by the Fame of her own Learning, and the favourable Reception she gave to Scholars, drew feveral learned Men from abroad, that have left good Proofs of their Abilities, and raised an Emulation in the Natives, whose best Performance is in the History, Antiquities, and ancient

Laws of the Country.

The University of Upfal consists of a Chancellor, who is always a great Minister of State; a Vice-Chancellor, always the Archbishop; a Rector chosen out of the Professors, of whom there are about twenty that have each 150 l. a Year Salary. The ordinary Number of Students is about feven or eight hundred, fifty of which are maintained by the King, and some few others were formerly by Persons of Quality; the rest, that cannot subfift of themselves, spend the Vacation in gathering the Charity of the Diocese they belong to, which is commonly given them in Corn, Butter, dry'd Fish or Flesh, &c. upon which they subsist at the University the rest of the Year. They live not collegiately, but in private Houses, nor wear Gowns, nor observe other Discipline than what their own Necessity or Disposition leads them to.

The other University of Abo, in Finland, is constituted in the same Manner, but less nume-

rous in Professors and Students.

There was a third at Lunden in Schonen, which, having been interrupted by the late Wars, is thought fit to be discontinued, because its Neighbourhood to Denmark nourish'd in the Students an Affection for that Crown, to which that Province formerly appertain'd; yet it is again restored.

In each Diocese there is one Free-School, where Boys are sitted for the University; and other trivial Schools, to which Children are sent to learn to Read, Write, and sing their Prayers; a Custom so universal, that very sew of them want this Degree of Education; and surther than that, such as are not design'd for Studies, do very seldom

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go, nor waste their Time in other needless Im-

provements.

Publick Provisions for the Poor are very few; there's not above five or fix Hospitals in the Kingdom, and a little Alms-house in each Parish, maintain'd by the Charity of the Inhabitants, to which, for the most part, they are very well disposed, according to their Abilities.

#### CHAP. VII.

Of their Marriages and Funerals.

MARRIAGES in Sueden are totally go-verned by the Will of the Parents, and founded fo much upon Interest, that the Inclination of the Parties is little regarded, nor the Nation much troubled with the Extravagancies of Lovers. Stealing of Matches is scarce heard of in an Age; nor can the Church give License to marry, without Publication of the Bans. Persons of Quality, of both Sexes, commonly remain unmarried till thirty or above, because their Fortunes on both fides being in their Parents Hands while they live, they are not in a Condition to maintain a Family, till the Death of Relations, or Advancement to Office, furnish them with the Means of fubfifting. The Women, while young, have generally fair Complexions, tolerable Features, and good Shapes; and fome of them are accounted more eminent for Chaftity before Marriage, than Fidelity after; they are very fruitful, and feldom fail of a numerous Issue: They are no where made greater Drudges than here, the meaner fort being, besides the ordinary Offices of their

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their Sex, put to plow and thrash, to row in Boats, and bear Burdens at the building of

Houses, and on other Occasions.

Domestick Quarrels rarely happen, and more feldom become publick, the Husbands being as apt to keep the Authority in their own Hands, as the Wives by Nature, Custom, or Necessity, are inclined to be obedient. Divorces, and other Separations between Man and Wife, scarce ever happen but among the inferior Sort, when the innocent Party is allowed to marry again. Cousin Germains may not marry without the King's Dispensation; which is more frequently granted than refused.

In Wedding Entertainments they have ever affected Pomp and Superfluity, beyond the Proportion of their Abilities; for by the Excess of one Day, oftentimes many of them involve themfelves in fuch Inconveniences as they feel many The fame is observable in their Funeral Solemnities, which are usually accompanied with more Jollity and Feafting than befits the Occafion; and to gain Time to make their Preparations, they commonly transport their Dead to Vaults within, or adjoining to their Churches, where they remain unburied some Months, and fometimes feveral Years; but of late these, and other unnecessary Expences, begin by degrees to be laid afide, as well in Conformity to the Frugality of the Court, as in Compliance with their present Fortunes, which are narrower now than they have formerly been.

#### CHAP. VIII.

Of the Royal Family, and Court of Sueden.

CHARLES XI. the present King of Sueden, was born November the 25th, 1655. two Years after his Father, Charles Gustavus X. of the House of Deux Ponts, was advanced to the Crown, upon the Abdication of Queen Christina; whose Cousin-Germain he was, being the Son of John Casimir, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and Catherine of Sueden, Daughter to Charles IX. and Sifter to Gustavus Adolphus, Queen Christina's Fa-This King's Mother, Princess Hediwig Eleonora, of the House of Holstein, and Sister to the prefent Duke, had no other Child; and upon the Decease of the King, her Husband, in the Year 1660, was made Regent of the Kingdom, together with the five great Officers of the Crown, and held that Post till the Year 1672, when the King, her Son, was declared Major, and took the Government.

His Majesty's Education in his Minority, by his own Genius, and the Indulgence of his Mother, (if not by the Contrivance of the principal Ministers) was mostly in order to a military Life; in which Exercises, such as Fencing, and Riding the Great Horse, he took more Pleasure, and made better Proficiency, than in such Studies as required more Intention of the Mind. Besides the Suedish and High-Dutch Languages, which his Majesty learned in his Infancy, and speaks both equally well, he was not perfected in any other, having

having only a Smattering of French, to which he hath fo great an Aversion, that he will neither own, nor be brought to speak, so much of it as he understands: Which Want concurring with (if not causing in him) a reserved Temper, and Backwardness to Conversation with Strangers, makes it more difficult for foreign Ministers to entertain his Majesty, and himself uneasy upon their Addresses.

None ever better conquered this Difficulty than \* Mr. Warwick, who having learned a little High-Dutch, with which he entertain'd his Majefty in ordinary Discourse, without much Mixture of Business, he thereby became the favourite foreign Minister, and had the Honour to be singled out by his Majesty on all Occasions.

In the Year 1674 his Majesty was crowned, and presently after engaged in a War that gain'd him an eminent Degree both of Experience and Honour, having never lost a Battle in which he

was personally present.

At the Conclusion of the War, Anno 1680, he married the Princess Ulrica Eleonora, Sister to the King of Denmark, a Lady as eminent for Piety, Virtue, Wisdom, and all other Qualities truly great and noble, as for her Birth and Extraction. These, with her great Charity to the Poor, and Liberality to all, have gained her the Hearts of the whole Nation, and surmounted the Aversion they naturally have to those of her Country. By her his Majesty hath already had seven Children; sive Princes, sour of which are dead; and two Princesses; and has fair Hopes of a more numerous Issue.

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<sup>\*</sup> He went Envoy Extraordinary from King Charles II.

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The King is of a middle Stature, and well fet, his Hair brown, of a healthful and vigorous Constitution, and fanguine Complexion, never attacked with any violent Sickness, but what has been occasioned by some outward Accidents; of which two especially have endangered his Life. One was in the War, when his Majesty riding on the Ice it brake, and he fell into the Water, which brought him into a Fever, that he narrowly escaped. The other happened by a Fall off his Horse, when he broke his Leg, and was fo ill treated by his Surgeons, that besides the Danger of his Life then, the Effects of their Mifcarriage are still feen in his Majesty's halting. There have happened to him two Accidents more, which have impaired his Strength, and it's feared may shorten his Days. One was, that at hunting, Monsieur Wachtmeister being in danger to be kill'd by a Bear, the King was fo eager to rescue him, that he broke a Vein, and was then like to have bled to death, and fince hath been subject to bleeding upon any Motion. The other was, that his Majesty hath formerly accustomed himself to ride Post such long Stages, and with so great Speed, that he hath often been near fuffocated by the Heat, the Expence of his Spirits, and the Agitation of his Blood; whereof the Effects are still observed and feared by those about him.

He possesses many excellent and princely Qualities, an exemplary Piety, and religious Disposition, that shews itself in all his Actions; and invincible Courage, that has oft exposed his Person to great Dangers, not only in his Wars, but in his Divertisements.

His Chastity and Temperance are very regular at least; if there be any Instances of his failing in the

the latter upon any extraordinary Occasion or Entertainment, he hath never been known, or scarce

fuspected, to violate the former.

Frugality is practifed by his Majesty in a high Degree, and his parsimonious Temper appears on all Occasions; that if his Subjects think him too pressing for Money, they have the Satisfaction to see and believe that it is laid either out or up for their Good; not expended in prosuse Liberalities, or vain Divertisements, to which his Majesty is a perfect Stranger; neither delighted with Plays, Gaming, or any other Recreations,

befides Riding, Fencing, and Hunting.

His peaceable Demeanour may perhaps more justly be ascribed to the State of his Affairs, than his own Nature, which more powerfully inclines him to the Fatigue of a Camp, than the Ease of a Court; and suits better with a martial Familiarity, than the Shews of Grandeur, and the Solemnities of State. The cholerick Temper that hath been incident to all his Ancestors, hath sometimes carried him to low Expressions of his Anger, as well towards the greater as meaner Sort of his Subjects; but the Fit is usually soon over, and is recompenced by his Placability and Readiness to forgive those that have offended him.

His Respect to his Mother seems to equal, if not exceed, his Kindness to his Consort; who hath the Satisfaction of his Constancy, but little share in his Secrets, and not very much of his Conversation, which he frequently bestows on the Queen-Mother, and usually eats in her Apart-

ment.

His Majesty's most diligent Inspection into all the Affairs of his Kingdom, besides that it makes all his Ministers more circumspect, hath gained him a great Stock of Experience. The smallest S 3 Matters Matters are not below his notice; and nothing of any Moment is concluded before he hath been confulted: This is the Employment of all his Time, scarce any Hour of the Day passing from five in the Morning, when he constantly rises, in which Business of one Nature or other is not before him.

The Frugality of his Majesty's Temper is every where vifible in his Court, in which there is little regard had to Splendor and Magnificence, either in Furniture, Tables, or Attendants, or other Things of that Nature. The principal Officer of the Court is the Upper Marshal, formerly called the Marshal of the Kingdom, which Office is now held by Count John Steenbeck: Next to him are the Marshal and Intendant of the Court, with about eight or ten that are stiled Gentlemen of the Court, who wait at the King's Table. That which makes the best Appearance is the Foot-Guards, which confift of 2200 Men. of which one Company is always in the Caftle, and the other in the other Parts of the City. The Colonel of the Guards is next the King's Person in all publick Solemnities; and the Captain that has the Watch lies in the Room next to his Majesty's Bedchamber. There is another Guard of 250 Men, of which about ten at a time wait on Foot with Halberts, and on Horseback when the King travels in Ceremony.

Next to the King the Queen-Mother is ranked, both in the Addresses of foreign Ministers, and on all other Occasions.

She is a Princess of great Virtue and Goodness, and would be more esteemed, if she were not diverted from the Exercise of Liberality by the Inclination she has to Building, which she has gratified in the Structure of a very magnificent House.

House, about fix Miles from Stockholm. It has one Front towards a great Lake, and the other looks upon a Garden of a thousand Yards long, adorned with very fine and choice Statues, the Spoils of Germany and Denmark; and a great Number of Cascades, that are supplied with very good Water from an Eminence about a Mile distant.

Her Court and Revenue is governed by Count Charles Gyldenstiern, and next to him is the Marshal of her Court, and other Officers; as also a Governess of the Maids of Honour, who are six, with other inferior Servants.

The Queen-Confort, befides what has already been faid of her, is a great Lover of Reading; and, together with the Northern Languages, speaks French perfectly well. She is of a melancholy Disposition, and lives very retired, seldom stirring out of her own Apartment, and that of the Prince and Princesses.

The elder Princess was born in the Year 1681, and the Prince in the Year following; both of a delicate Constitution, of great Hopes, and educated with much Care. The younger Princess was born Anno 1688.

#### CHAP. IX.

Of his MAJESTY's Government.

IIS Majesty was no sooner crowned, but he found himself engaged in the War then on soot; and espoused the French Interest, in Consideration of a Subsidy of 200000 l. a Year, in which the first Blow was the Deseat of Feldt Marshall

shal Wrangel, and his Army in Germany; a Difafter fo little foreseen, or provided for, that it made a more eafy way for all the Miseries that enfued upon it, and gave the King more eminent Occasions of shewing his Courage in Defence of his Kingdoms and People; for as the Success of that Action turned the Biass of the Danish Counfels, and prefented the favourable Opportunity they expected, to engage in the War, which they began with the Surprizal of Holstein, and the taking of Wismar, and thence translated it into Schonen; fo that when the King was called into those Parts to make head against the Danes, he found the Effects of his Ministers Deficiency in making due Preparations; four of the fix fortified Places of that Province being already in the Enemy's Hands, and the Inhabitants at liberty to express their Affections for Denmark.

To encounter these Difficulties, and a more potent Enemy, affifted by more powerful Confederates, the King at first had but a Handful of Men, and empty Magazines; the Forces of the Kingdom being scattered into Germany and Leifland, the Borders of Norway, and the Sea Service; from all which Places his Majesty received nothing but Accounts of Losses and Misfortunes: So that the Fortune of Sueden, and all its ancient Glory, feem'd to be confin'd to his Majesty's Perfon and his little Army: With which, in the Compass of one Year, he won three pitch'd Battles; and in one of them he is faid to have charged thirteen times at the Head of a Brigade; and yet, which is very remarkable, doth value himself for not having drawn the Blood of any one Man.

In the Course of this War the King gained a great Stock of military Experience, without any Tincture of those Vices that commonly prevail in

a Camp;

a Camp; and was fo indefatigable, and perpetually employed, that he scarce had his Boots off in three Years time: The Straits he was often reduced to, taught him many excellent Leffons, especially the Necessity of putting the Kingdom into a better Posture of Defence than he found it. Besides, his Officers, with the chief Ministers about him, Baron John Gyldenstiern, made it their Business to possess his Majesty with an ill Opinion of the Senate, and discovered the Malversations that the ruling Lords had been guilty of in his Minority; which funk fo deep with him, that as his Displeasure fell upon some of those Lords during the War, and a Slight upon them all, neither communicating his Counfels, nor acquainting them with the Success of his Actions, which they were left to learn from Passengers and Masters of Ships; fo after the Conclusion of the Peace, and his Return to Stockholm in the Year 1680, his Majesty called together the States of the Kingdom, and gave them a fummary Account of the State of Affairs during the War, and the Issue of it; and proposed to them to inspect the Occafions of the great Losses the Kingdom had fuflained, to find out Means to deliver the Government from the Straits (or rather States) it laboured under, and to confult for its further Security.

The Odium of all the Losses and Misfortunes of the War was eafily fix'd upon the Ministers that had managed Affairs in the King's Minority; and therefore a Committee was chosen out of the several Bodies of the States, to enquire into the Miscarriages and evil Counsels of those Ministers, and pass Sentence upon the Delinquents: And to this end the Registers of the Council were examined, the Damage arifing from each Refolution computed, and every Senator that had voted therein

therein was charged with his Proportion of it; and that with fo much Rigor, that their whole Estates have not sufficed to make Satisfaction. To this the States also found, that the Power the Senators attributed to themselves had helped to produce these bad Effects, and therefore declared, That as they the States needed no fuch Mediators between the King and them, fo neither did they find that the Article of his Majesty's Coronation-Oath (in which he had promifed to rule the Kingdom with the Advice of the Senators) did oblige him to think it necessary any longer to have their Concurrence to any Counfels he thought fit to take; or continue their Salaries to more of them than he was pleafed to employ: Upon which feveral of them were laid afide; and the reft, inflead of their former Title of Counfellors, or Senators of the Kingdom, were stilled the King's Counfellors; a Method which perhaps in time may cost the Crown dear, there being left none to bear the Burden between the King and the Complainants. And to give greater Strength to this, the States declared also, That tho' the Regents, during a Minority, might be called to account for their Administration, yet his Majesty, who receives his Crown from God, was only accountable to God for his Actions, and tied by no other Engagements than what his Coronation-Oath imported, namely, To rule the Kingdom according to Law: Which Article was further explained in the following Convention.

To remedy the great Necessities the Government was reduced to, and discharge the vast Debts contracted in the War, several very important Conclusions were made. For both a very large Benevolence was granted, towards which every Person in the Kingdom that received Wages pay'd

the tenth Penny; every whole Farm five Crowns, which is near as much as the usual Rent of those Farms; and the Cities a proportionable Contribution; and that for two Years; or, if a War happened, for four: And a Resolution was taken to establish a new College of Reduction, with Power to reunite to the Crown all such Lands as by former Kings had been alienated by way of Donation, or fold at an under Value.

The Choice of the Members of this College, and the Particulars of their Instructions, were left to his Majesty; the States only prescribing some general Bounds, and especially providing, That of such Lands as were to be reunited, the Value of 70 l. a Year should be left to the Possessor.

The Care of the future Security of the Kingdom the States recommended to his Majesty, praying him to make fuch an Establishment of the Militia, and Preparation of the Fleet and Fortresses, as should appear needful: So favourable was this Conjuncture for the Advancement of the King's Authority, that he scarce needed to ask whatever he defired, each Body of the States ftriving which should outbid the other in their Concessions. The Nobility and Gentry, who univerfally depend on the King, as not being able to fublish upon their own private Fortunes, without some additional Office, were under a Necessity to comply with every thing, rather than hazard their present Employments, or future Hopes of Advancement; their Interest therefore obliged them to keep pace with the Officers of the Army that fat in their House, and some others of their Brethren, who vigorously promoted the King's Affairs.

The Clergy, Burghers, and Peafants, were eafily perfuaded that the Miferies they had fuffer'd proceeded

proceeded from the too great Power of the Nobility; that the King could never be too much trusted; his Majesty having so oft exposed his Life to the greatest Dangers in Defence of his Subjects, it was their Duty to make all the grateful Returns they were able: Besides, they were glad of an occasion of humbling the Nobility, who in Prosperity were always imperious; and concluded, that the Burden falling upon them,

would redound to their own Eafe.

These Dispositions of the People, added to the excessive Affection they had for the King's Perfon, from an Opinion of his Piety, and Admiration of his Courage, gave him an Opportunity to lay the Foundations of as absolute a Sovereignty as any Prince in Europe possesses. The Project of which great Alteration, his Majesty (as was supposed) received from Baron John Gyldenstiern, a Minister of great Abilities, and as great an Enemy to the Senate. He had waited on the King in the War, and drawn to himself the Management of all weighty Affairs, and perhaps expected to hold the fame Post upon this great Revolution, which in the former Constitution he could not hope; but before this Affembly, and foon after his Return from an Embassy in Denmark, he died, not without Suspicion of foul Play.

Upon these Foundations his Majesty, after the Separation of the States, set his Ministers earnestly to work, and with an unwearied Application took Cognizance of their Proceedings.

Foreign Affairs were committed to Count Benedict Oxenstiern, Monsieur Ebrenstien, and Monsieur Oernstedt, Persons of great Experience and Abilities. The Count began to be employed in publick Affairs at the Treaty of Munster, at which he was for some time, and has since been for the most

most part in Embassies, especially in Germany, and was then returned from the Treaty of Nimeguen, where he had ('tis faid upon his Lady's account) entertain'd a violent Aversion to France; and being made President of the Chancery in the room of Count Magnus de la Gardie, who was laid afide, he took care to give his Majesty the fame Impressions, laying before him how that Court, by corrupting his Ministers, had engaged Sueden in the War, of which his Majesty had felt the Miferies, and was forced to fit down with the Loss of some Territories in Germany, besides forty Sail of good Ships, and above 100000 Men; all which might either have been prevented or repaired, if France had not facrificed Sueden to its own Interest: That the Subsidy was rather diffributed by French Commissaries, and employed in their own Service, than paid to his Majesty, who oftentimes, in his greatest Need, could not be supplied out of that Fund: That his Majesty could neither be Master of his own Counsels, nor make any tolerable Figure in Europe, fo long as he was efteemed a Pensioner and a Mercenary.

These and the like Reasons moved the King to command each Member of the Privy Council to put in Writing what Measures they thought advisable for him to take, in relation to foreign Assairs; in which some of them argued very warmly for France; but the Reasons on the other side were more prevalent with his Majesty, who thereupon took such Resolutions as produced the Guaranty-League with Holland, and other Counsels,

that Sueden has fince purfued.

For the Management of Affairs at home, his Majesty employed Baron Claudius Flemingh, whose Father having been ill used by the Regents in the King's Minority, had left him several Projects

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that fell in with the Defigns on foot, and enabled him to go through with the Reduction of Crown-Lands. Being made President of that College, and affifted with a competent Number of Affeffors, he began to examine the Titles of those that held any Lands that had formerly belonged to the Crown; and where any fuch were found to have been alienated by way of Donation for pretended Services, or were fituated in forbidden Places, (that is, within fix Miles of any of the King's Castles) they were reunited to the Crown without further Dispute, the Value of 70 l. per Ann. being referved to the Possessor. Crown-Lands that had been fold, Enquiry was made into the Nature of the Price, and the real Value of the Estate. Where Ready Money had been paid, the Interest of 5 per Cent. was allowed for it; and if the yearly Value of the Estate exceeded that Interest, the said Overplus, and the Interest of it at 8 per Cent. from the first Alienation, was computed, and frequently made to amount to as much as the Capital itself; which being by that means fatisfied, the Estate returned to the King. Where Lands had been given in Payment of Arrears, there no Interest was allowed, the Capital being accounted unfruitful; fo that the yearly Value of fuch Lands, together with the Interest, was deducted from the Principal; which being foon eaten out, not only the Lands returned to the King, but the Possessor also became indebted to him; and he was to accept it as an Act of Grace, if his Majesty took the Lands, and forgave the Debt.

By these Methods the King recovered a very great Revenue, tho' with the impoverishing of most Families in Sueden, and many of them such, whose Ancestors, and themselves also, had spent

their

their Lives and Fortunes in the Crown's Service; which Confiderations could not be regarded, nor Exceptions made in favour of any in particular, without adding to the Discontents of all the rest, who more patiently suffered while the Case was

general.

The fame Baron Flemingh was also made President of the Treasury, and of the College of Liquidation; a Court erected not only to be a Barrier to the Treafury, and keep all Creditors off, till their Accounts were first stated and approved in that College, but his Business was also to find out fuch as were any ways indebted to the King, to form the Charge against them, and demand Payment, which was not to be refused upon Pretence (as it fometimes was the Case) that the Party had greater Sums due from the Crown; but the King's Debt was to be paid first, and without any Delay, and the Party left to state his Accounts afterwards in the College of Liquidation; wherein fuch Acts were used towards many, by making (as they call them) Observations upon the Price, the Time of delivering the Species of Money, and the like, that feveral of the King's Debts have been pay'd without a Farthing of Money, and not a few Pretenders have thereby been made Debtors to the King, and Payment extorted with great Rigor.

The Payment of the Fleet his Majesty committed to Baron Hans Wachtmeister, (in the Place of the great Admiral Count Steenbeck) who prevailed to have it removed from Stockholm, its ordinary Station, to a Harbour fortified for that Purpose in the Province of Bleaking, and named Carlscrone; as being both nearer to Denmark and Germany, earlier free from Ice in the Spring, and the Parts adjacent abounding with Timber. In

that, and other Places, great Diligence was used, both to repair the old Ships, which amounted not to twenty Sail, and to build new ones; of which, since that Time, about twenty from eighty to forty Guns, and eight or ten of less Force, have been built by two English and other Master-Builders.

The Establishment of the Militia his Majesty made his own peculiar Care, as having more immediately felt the Essects of the Disorder it had been in, and learn'd by Experience the Necessity of such a standing Force, as might answer the Ends of its Institution.

In what manner his Majesty proceeded herein,

shall be shown in another Place.

In this Interval his Majesty published several new Laws, one against Duels, the Substance of which is already mentioned; another to fix the Right of Precedency among the Nobility and Officers; wherein, next after the Privy-Counsellors, the Soldiers are principally considered, each considerable Office being ranked according to its Dignity and Precedency, determined according to that Rank, without any respect to Birth or

Quality.

At the next Assembly of the States in the Year 1683, besides a Benevolence equal to that granted the last Sessions, his Majesty obtained such farther Advantages as the Ends he designed did require; for not only the Reunion of the 70 l. a Year reserved by the former Session was consented to, and that without the least Dissiculty; because those of the Nobility that had lost most, did thereby revenge themselves of the Officers of the Army and others, who had been the great Sticklers in the Reduction, by which themselves had lost little or nothing, if the Reservation of 70 l.

per Ann. had stood; but the Article of ruling the Kingdom according to Law, was also further explained, and the States declared, That his Majesty was not thereby tied to the Laws then in being, but might alter the fame, and add thereto fuch Constitutions, as he thought most useful for the present State of the Kingdom; and that whatever Instructions he pleased to give any College or Officer, the fame were a Law to them, and all others that they concerned; adding only this, That they hoped his Majesty would communicate to the States fuch Laws as were of a general Nature, and intended to be binding to the whole Kingdom. And whereas his Majesty had laid before the States the undue Proceedings of the Ministers at his Father's Death, whose Testament they rescinded, and altered the Frame of the Government he had prescribed to be observed in the King's Minority, the States declared, That the Authors of those Alterations were no honest Patriots, and left them to the King's Juffice, promissing that, in case of his Majesty's Decease during his Successor's Minority, they would see his Testament punctually fulfilled, and the Form of Government thereby prescribed inviolably obferved.

The next Assembly of the States in 1686 renewed the usual Benevolence which was asked to enable the King to pay his Debts, and made some further Concessions in the Matter of the Re-union, rather to take off the Odium from the King and his Ministers, than to add any Authority to his Majesty's Proceedings.

These and the like Concessions have render'd his Majesty an absolute Monarch, to which his Subjects submit without any Contest; and had not those other Pressures that accompanied it

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made it uneafy, there would scarce have been found in that loyal Kingdom any one Person disaffected to the Government; but the Loss of Estates, they supposed to have Right to, has created Discontents in many of the Nobility and Gentry; and the frequent and heavy Taxes imposed by the States are no less sensible to those of inferior Degrees; that perhaps the King of Sueden has lost as much in the Affection of his Subjects, as he has gain'd in his Revenue: Yet this is not like to produce any bad Essects, since the King knows so well how to make himself obeyed, and has such essectual Means in his Hands, not only to restrain any Disorders, but to engage the greatest Part of the Nation to his Interest.

For the Distribution of all Imployments of any Value in the Kingdom belongs to his Majesty; and the Nobility and Gentry, as well as others, are under a greater Necessity than ever, of rendering themselves acceptable to him, that they may get Imployments. Besides, his Majesty has lately thought fit to cause all that are in Office to renew their Oath of Fidelity, the Tenor of which has been accommodated to the prefent Government. The Instructions also of all Governors of Provinces, and other both Civil and Military Officers, have been revised and renewed. And as a new Body of Laws Ecclefiaftical is already published, so the common Laws of the Kingdom are under Consideration, to be render'd more plain, full, and fuitable to the present State of Things, according to the Mind of the King, and those that are his Advisers in this Change. Yet all this Power and Provision is not by the Court itself thought fufficient to keep an oppressed People from Diforders; nor would it likely long do fo, if the King did not by great Applications and Deferences

Deferences court the Clergy, and by no small Degrees of Compliance with them, not only in Ecclefiastical, but even in Civil Affairs, cultivate their Fidelity and Affection; and this because the Priests have very great and uncontroulable Interest and Authority among the common People (who only can make Difturbances) and can at their pleasure inflame or appease them.

# CHAP. X.

### Of the Privy Council.

THE ancient Constitution which gave them the Title of Senators of the Kingdom, gave them also Authority not only to advise in all Bufiness of Importance, but in some Cases to admonish and over-rule the King, who was not at liberty to transact any weighty Affairs without the Concurrence of a Majority of the Senate; and tho' the King chose them, yet the States received their Oath, which rather express'd their Fidelity to the Kingdom in general, than to the King: Their Office was for Life, and not only Attempts upon their Person, but Defamation of them, was accounted Treason.

But the late Revolution has effectually delivered the King from this (as they call it) Encroachment upon Royalty and Prerogative, and reduced those Officers to the Title and proper Duties of Privy-Counfellors; putting it into the King's Power to employ them as he thinks fit, to afk their Counsel as he sees Occasion, and to lay fuch of them aside as he finds convenient; which his Majesty accordingly practises; some of them being being laid aside, and the Remainder, together with those the King hath added to them, are dispersed into various Imployments, and very rarely meet in a Body; his Majesty transacting all Assairs, both domestick and foreign, with the proper Officers, to whom they are immediately intrusted, without the Participation of the whole Council. The Number of Privy-Counsellors is at present about eighteen; each of them has a Salary of 300 l. a Year, and most have other beneficial Imployments.

### CHAP. XI.

Of the States of SUEDEN.

Sessions of the States hath left that Body little more than its ancient Name, and a Power of Consent to such Impositions as the King's Occasions require, which he chuses rather to receive through their Hands, than imploy his Authority in a Matter so apt to administer Occasion of Discontent. Their usual Time of Assembly is once in three Years, or oftner, if the Assairs of the Kingdom require it. The Letters for calling them together are sent to the Governors of Provinces, who thereupon write to each Nobleman and Gentleman in their Province, and to the Bishops, who cause the same to be published in all Churches.

The Body of the Nobility and Gentry are represented by one of each Family, of which there are about a thousand in Sueden; and with them the the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and one

Captain of each Regiment, fit and vote.

For the Clergy, besides the Bishops and Superintendants in each Rural Deanery, or ten Parishes, one is chosen and maintained at the Charge of his Electors; these make a Body of about two hundred.

The Representatives of the Burghers are chosen by the Magistrates and Common-Council of each Corporation; of which Stockholm sends four, others two, and some one; who make about one hundred and fifty.

The Peafants of each District chuse one of their own Quality to appear for them, whose Charges they bear, and give him Instructions in such Matters as they think need Redress; they are about

two hundred and fifty.

Their first Meeting (when at Stockholm) is in a large Room in the Caftle, called the Hall of the Kingdom; where his Majesty being seated on a Throne, and the Privy-Counfellors fitting at fome Distance, the President of the Chancery makes them a Compliment in the King's Name; and then a Secretary reads his Majesty's Proposals to them, in which they are acquainted with the State of Affairs fince their Recess, and the present Occasion of their Advice and Assistance: To which. first, the Marshal of the Nobility, who is chosen by the King, returns an Answer, and kisses the King's Hand; and after him the Archbishop, in the Name of the Clergy; the first Burghermaster of Stockholm for the Burghers, and one of the Peafants for his Brethren. They then separate into tour feveral Houses, and chuse a secret Committee, composed of an equal Number of each Body, who receive from the King's Ministers such further Informations of his Majesty's Pleasure, as

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are not thought fit to be communicated in publick, and thereupon prepare such Matters as are to be proposed to the several Bodies. In each House Matters are concluded by Majority of Voices; and if one or more of these Bodies differ in Opinion from the rest, they are either brought over by Persuasions, or the Point remains unconcluded.

When the Affairs proposed by the King are finished, they then infinuate their Grievances, each Body severally, to which the King returns such Answers as he thinks sit; and to each Member of the three inferior Bodies an authentick Copy is delivered, as well of the general Conclusion made by the whole States, as of the King's Answer to the Grievances of his respective Body, which he carries home to his Electors.

### CHAP. XII.

# Of the Revenue of the Kingdom.

THE standing Revenues of the Kingdom of Sueden arise from Crown-Lands, Customs, Poll-Money, Tythes, Copper and Silver Mines, Proceedings at Law, and other less considerable Particulars; which are calculated in all to near a Million of Pounds a Year; of which the Lands make above one Third, and the Customs almost a Fourth. The Poll-money is paid only by the Peasants, each of which above sixteen, and under sixty, pays about Twelve-pence a Year.

In the Treasury-Chamber, a President (now Baron Fabian Wrede) with four Counsellors, and other Officers, sit and act as a Court of Justice, in such Matters as relate to the King's Revenue;

but they make no Affignments, that being the Business of the Contoir of State, in which the Commissary, in Conjunction with the President, dispose of all Payments, but yet not without Orders immediately from the King. At the beginning of every Year they make a Calculation of what is likely to come in, and what will remain above the ordinary Charge; which they lay before his Majesty, and receive his Orders what Debts shall first be paid. The greatest Part of the King's Money passes through the Bank, and thereby faves the Charge of Officers to receive and pay it, there being between the Contoir of State and the Bank only one Rent-Master, (as they ftile him) who keeps account with them both, and gives Affignments according to the Orders he receives.

The Revenue is supposed at prefent to exceed the ordinary Charge of the Crown; and the King having lately had three feveral extraordinary Contributions, and vast Forfeitures from the faulty Ministers of State, as also great Advantages in recovering the Debts due to the Crown, would have his Coffers well fill'd, if the building of Ships, and paying of Debts contracted in the last War, had not drain'd them in some measure. In 1686 it was told the States, in the King's Name, That in fix Years time his Majesty had paid Debts to above two Millions of Pounds (tho many of them were paid with little Money) befides the building of about thirty Ships: And yet 'tis generally believed the King is not ill provided with Ready Cash; and there is great Neceffity for such Provision to supply any pressing Occasion, since the Credit of Sueden is very low abroad; and at home the ordinary Taxes are for high, that the People cannot long furnish any T 4 additional additional and extraordinary Affistances; that as the Crown has refumed all former Liberalities, and with Rigor exacted its utmost Right, so it must chiefly depend upon those Funds, little being to be expected from the People, and no Credit from Abroad in case of Extremity, since those that have formerly trusted the Crown have been so very ill used: And neither the States of the Kingdom, if they should interpose their Engagements, are in a Condition to make them good; nor can any Dependance be made upon the Security either of the Crown-Lands, or any other Branch of the Revenue, since the late Resumption of those Lands, and Revocation of such Securities, have destroy'd all future Faith.

### CHAP. XIII.

Of the Forces of SUEDEN.

HE Reputation gain'd, and the Conquests made by Sueden in this and the last Age, has not fo much been owing to its native Strength, as to foreign Affistance of Germans, French, English, and especially Scots, of whom they have used great Numbers in all their Wars with Muscovy, Poland, Germany, and Denmark; and by them the Art of War and military Discipline has been by degrees introduced into this Nation, that in former times had only the Advantage of Courage and Numbers. For the original Constitution of the Country, and its Division into Hundreds and other larger Portions, that still retain military Names, feems to have been the Work of Armies; and the frequent Expeditions of the Gothes,

Goths, and other Inhabitants of these Parts, shew, that in all Ages they were addicted to War and Violence, yet it was in a diforderly and tumultuous Manner, their Infantry always confisting of unexperienced Peafants, raifed for the Occasion, and difbanded as foon as it was over. The Feudal Laws indeed (which are supposed to have had their Birth among these People) provided for a competent Number of Cavalry, all Estates of the Nobility and Gentry being held by Knight's Service; and while the Kingdom was elective, the Kings were bound to maintain some Forces of Horse out of the Revenues of the Crown: But this Establishment had been in a great measure corrupted, and the Kingdom fo shatter'd with domestick Broils, that it made a very inconsiderable Figure, and was little known in Europe till the Crown became hereditary, and the Interest of the Royal Family concerned in the Strength and Prosperity of the Nation. Since that Time the Standing Forces of the Kingdom have been augmented, yet not so effectually established as its Necessities required; for it generally happened that the Nobility and Gentry were fo backward in fitting out their Horse, and the Levies of Foot not being to be made without the Confent of the Peafants in the Affembly of the States, it was fo hardly obtain'd, that the Regiments were very thin, and Recruits extreme difficult; nor were the Officers Salaries fo punctually paid, as to enable them to be in Readiness on all Occasions.

To remedy these Inconveniences, the present King, on whom the States had conferr'd an absolute Power to put the Militia into such a Method as he should think fit, has made such Regulations in all the Particulars relating to this Matter, as

were requifite to bring it to Perfection.

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The new Injunctions he has made about the Cavalry that the Nobility and Gentry furnish, are so exact, that it is not in their Power to put either the Man or the Horse that are once listed, to other Employments than what are there specified; but must have them in a continual Readiness whenever they are called upon, with such Arms and Equipage as his Majesty hath directed. In default of which severe Penalties are inflicted, and the Estates they hold by that Service subject to Confiscation.

For the Infantry the King has taken the like Care; and whereas formerly no Levies could be made but by Confent of the States, and that but by fmall Parcels at a time, and with fuch Difturbance, that on those Occasions it was usual for half the Peafants to run into the Woods and other hiding Places, to escape being made Soldiers; this has been remedied by the King's Commissioners, who have distributed the Infantry of each Province proportionably to the Number of Farms, each of which of the Value of about 60 or 70 l. a Year (not being appropriated to the Officers or other peculiar Services) is charged with one Foot Soldier, who receives from the Farmer Diet, Lodgings, ordinary Cloaths, and about twenty Shillings a Year in Money; or else a little wooden House is built for him at the Farmer's Charge, who must also furnish him with as much Hay as will keep a Cow in Winter, and Pasturage in Summer, and plow and fow for him fuch a Parcel of Ground as will afford him Bread: They that are marry'd (as many of them are) generally accept this latter Condition; the unmarried Soldiers usually abide with the Farmer, but are not bound to do him any Service without Wages. When they have once taken the Peafants Money,

Money, and are listed in the King's Service, they can never quit so long as they are able to serve; and if they desert, are punished with Death. The first Institution of this Method was very burdensome to the Peasants, who were at great Charge to hire their Men, which cost them 10 and sometimes 20 l. apiece; and the same they must do whenever their Soldier dies. This in peaceable Times will not be so chargeable as it is in Times of War, when Men will be unwilling to serve, and Recruits more frequently needed: And as this is part of the Project hitherto unexperienced, so most believe it will be found very difficult, if not impracticable.

As all the common Soldiers are thus provided for at the Country's Charge, so all Officers both of Horse and Foot are maintained by the King, who hath appropriated so much of the Lands lately reunited, or formerly belonging to the Crown, to that Purpose: So that every Officer has a convenient House, and competent Portion of Land to live upon, situate in that Part of the Country where the Regiment he belongs to is quartered; as also the Rent of so many other Farms as make up his Pay, which, tho' it be somewhat less than formerly, yet being punctually paid either in Money, Corn, or other Commodities, they find it more profitable than when they were to solicit for it at the Treasury.

A Colonel of Foot has, of these Lands, the yearly Rent of about 300 l. and the rest proportionably; which amounts to about 2500 l. a Year, for all the Officers, both upper and under, of one Foot Regiment. And there being in Sueden, Finland, and Leisland, 28 Regiments of Foot, under this Establishment, the Maintenance of all the Officers belonging to them costs the King about

70000%

70000 l. a Year. What Charge the Cloathing of the common Soldiers once in two or three Years, their Arms, and such other Necessaries, may put the King to, cannot be so easily computed.

The Officers of Horse are provided for after the same manner, with such large Allowance as is requisite. There are 15 Regiments of Horse thus established, and the Maintenance of their Officers is computed to be about 80000 l. a Year: All which arises from the Rents of Crown-Lands, as do also the Wages of Civil Officers in the Country; who have Farms annexed to their Employments in the same manner as the Militia.

The Laws the King hath made for maintaining this Constitution are very exact and particular, and provide, with great Caution, that neither the Peasants shall be oppress'd, nor the Lands and Houses ruined: To which end all such Lands are yearly visited, and the Possessor compelled to make such Repairs as are found needful: And as every Officer, upon his first coming to such an Estate, subscribes an Inventory of it, so upon Advancement he cannot take Possession of another Charge, till he hath put that Estate into as good a Condition as he found it; and in case of his Death his Heirs cannot inherit till that be done.

In Times of Peace all Trespasses and Crimes committed by the Soldiers fall ordinarily under the Cognizance of a Civil Magistrate, who has the same Authority over them, as over the rest of the King's Subjects, except when they are encamped, or in Garison, or any way under Flying Colours; in all which Cases, as also in all Matters that relate solely to their Profession, their Officers have Jurisdiction over them, without whose leave a private Soldier is not permitted to lodge out of his Quarters, nor be absent a Day

from the Parish he belongs to: The inferior Officers cannot be absent from their Charge, but by the Colonel's Permission; nor Captains, and those above them, without the King's Leave: And the good Effect of the Officers constant Residence upon their respective Charges, appears in the quiet and peaceable Behaviour of the Soldiers, who have not hitherto broke out into any Enormities, nor given the common People any great occasion of Complaint.

To keep them in Discipline, each Company meets and is exercised once a Month, and every Regiment once or twice a Year; at which Times only they wear the King's Cloaths, which at their Return are carefully laid up in the Churches.

For their Government in time of War, the King hath lately caused the Articles of War to be reviewed and printed; together with a new Establishment of Courts-Marshal, and Instructions for the Auditors General, and other Officers concerned in the Ministration of Justice.

And for his Majesty's Information on all Occasions, a Book hath been lately made, specifying the Names of every military Officer in the King's Army, the Time when they first came into the Service, and by what Steps they have rifen: By which means, at one View, his Majesty knows the Merit and Services of any Officer.

The Forces in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*, as also the Regiment of Foot Guards, are not under this Establishment, but are pay'd in Money.

The whole Body of the King of Sueden's Forces, according to the best and most exact. Account, is as follows:

The established Militia in Sueden, Finland, and Leisland, are,

Cavalry

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	Men.
Cavalry 15 Regiments, is — —	17000
Infantry 28 Regiments, is — — —	35000
Foot Guards 1 Regiment, is — — —	2000
Forces in Pomeren and Bremen 6 Regiments, is — — — — — }	6000
In all 50 Regiments,	60000

Each Regiment ordinarily confifts of 1200 Men (but some of more) of which 96 are Officers; and such care is taken to keep them compleat, that it very seldom happens that twenty Men at a time are wanting in a Regiment; and as they are always in a Readiness, so a great Body of them may quickly be brought together, especially towards the Borders of Denmark and Norway, where in twenty Days time the King of Sueden can have an Army of 20000 Men.

Above the ordinary Establishment the King hath annexed to each Regiment about twenty supernumerary Farms, to answer any extraordinary Accidents of Fire, &c. and to surnish a Subsist-

ence for fuch Officers as are past Service.

For common Soldiers that Age or Wounds have render'd unfit for War, there is one general Hospital, which has a good Revenue; and befides that, every Officer that is advanced pays to it a Sum of Money proportionable to the Charge he arises to. A Colonel pays 100 Crowns, and others in proportion.

Besides the Arms in the Hands of the Militia, there is a considerable Magazine at Stockholm, and another at the Castle of Jencopingh towards the Borders of Denmark; and these, as occasion serves, are furnished from a considerable Iron-work at Oerbro in Nericia, which is continually employed

in making Arms of all Sorts. In the Castle of Jencopingh a Train of Artillery stands always in Readiness. This is the sole Inland Fortress in Sueden, which less needs such artificial Strengths, as well for other Reasons, as because Nature in very many Places has provided it with such Passes, as a Handful of Men may defend against a great Army.

On the Borders of *Norway*, befides fome small Forts that keep the Passages over the Mountains, there is the Castle of *Babunz*, situate upon a Rock in the midst of a deep River, but overlooked by

the Rocks near it.

The City of Gottenburgh is a well fortified Place, but wholly commanded by the neighbour-

ing Hills.

The Town of Marstrand, and the Castle of Elfsburgh, lie towards the Sea. On that Side towards Denmark are Waerburgh, Halmstad, Landscrone and Malmo, Places of good Defence. Upon the Baltick Shore are Carlescrone and Calmar, with two small Forts at the Entrance of the River leading to Stockholm. The Northern Parts are covered with Lapland, the Borders of Finland towards Russia with vast Woods and Morasses, and in some Parts with Castles and Forts. In Leisland, besides Riga, Revel, and Narva, which are very strong Places, there are several considerable Fortresses.

# C H A P. XIV. Of the Trade of Sueden.

'HO' Sueden has in all Times furnish'd Europe with those necessary Commodities it abounds with, yet either the warlike Temper, the Idleness or Ignorance of the Inhabitants, has formerly kept them from being much concerned in Trade, and given Strangers the Management and Advantage of it; which for a long time the Hans Towns, situate on the Baltick Sea, monopolized, till the Seven Provinces of the Netherlands were erected into a Republick, and became Sharers with them. Before that Time very little Iron was made in Sueden, but the Oar, being run into Pigs, was carried to Dantzick and other Parts of Pruffia, and there forged into Bars; for which reason the Country Smiths in England call foreign Iron Dansk or Spruce Iron. The Nation owes the greatest Improvements it has in Trade to the Art and Industry of some ingenious Mechanicks that the Cruelty of the Duke d'Alva drove into these Parts: Their Success invited great Numbers of Reformed Waloons to transplant thither, whose Language and Religion remains in the Places they fettled in, where they erected Forges and other Conveniences for making of Iron Guns, Wire, and all other Manufactures of Copper, Brass, and Iron; which for the most part are still carried on by their Posterity.

The Suedish Navigation was very inconsiderable, till Queen Christina, at the Conclusion of the War in 1644, obtained from Denmark a Freedom

from Customs for all Ships and Goods belonging to Suedish Subjects in their Passage through the Sound, and established in her own Dominions that Difference in Customs that still subsists between Suedish and foreign Ships, and is in Proportion of 4, 5, 6; the first called whole-free, the second half, and the last unfree: So that where a whole-free Suedish Ship pays 400 Crowns, half-free pays

500, and a foreign Vessel 600.

But as great as this Advantage was, it had but little Effect till the English Art of Navigation bridled the Hollanders, and opened the Intercourse between England and Sueden. Since that Time their Commerce has been much augmented as well as ours that way, and Goods transported by both, or either Party, according to the various Junctures of Affairs. When Sueden has been engaged in a War, the English Ships have had the whole Employ; but in Times of Peace the Advantage is fo great on the Suedish side, and Merchants so much encouraged by Freedom in Customs to employ their Ships, that English Bottoms cannot be used in that Trade, but only while Sueden is unprovided with a Number of Ships fufficient for the Transportation of their own Commodities. Whether it be feafible to lay a Duty upon Suedish Ships importing Goods into England, proportionable to what is laid upon foreign Veffels there; or whether the Matter be of fo great Importance as to merit fuch a Refolution, does not belong to this Discourse to determine.

The chief Commodities Sueden vends, are Copper, Iron, Pitch, Tar, Masts, Deals, and wooden Ware, (besides the Commodities exported from Leisland) to the Value of about 700000 l. a Year; in return of which they receive from abroad Salt, Wines and Brandy, Cloth, Stuffs, Tobacco,

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Sugar, Spices, Paper, Linnen, and feveral other Sorts of Goods; which are supposed commonly to balance their Exportations, and sometimes exceed them.

Their Trade to *Portugal* for Salt is accounted most necessary, as without great Quantities of which they cannot subsist. That with *England* is more beneficial, because it takes off almost half their own Commodities, and brings in near two Thirds of Money for one of Goods. The worst is their *French* Trade, in regard it rather supplies their Vanities than Necessities, and gives little or no Vent to the Commodities of the Country.

The general Direction of their Trade belongs to the College of Commerce, which confifts of the Prefident of the Treasury, and four Counsellors, who hear Caufes of that Nature, and redress any Diforders that happen. The Bank at Stockbolm is of great Benefit to Trade, as well in regard that the King's Customs for that City are paid in there, as also that the Merchants ordinarily make Payments to each other by Bills drawn upon it, which eafes them of a great Trouble in transporting their Money from place to place, that would otherwise be very difficult and chargeable. Bank is well constituted, and was in very good Credit whilft it had the States of the Kingdom for its Guarantees, of which it has now but the Shadow; those States being (and are now stiled) the King's (not Kingdom's) States: So that all its Foundation derives now from the Will and Pleafure of the King, which may on feveral Occasions diminish not only its own Sufficiency, but also the Confidence of those that make use of it. Management of the Trade of Sueden has always in the main been in the Hands of Strangers, most of the Natives wanting either Capacity or Application,

cation, and all of them Stocks to drive it; for without Credit from Abroad, they are not able to keep their Iron-works going; and therefore at the beginning of Winter they usually make Contracts with the English and other Foreigners, who then advance confiderable Sums, and receive Iron in Summer. Were it not for this Necessity, foreign Merchants would have but little Encouragement, or fcarcely Permission to live and trade amongst them; and even as the Case stands, their Treatment of them is as rigorous as in any Country, occasioned chiefly by the Envy of the Burghers, who cannot with any Patience fee a Stranger thrive among them. This is lefs fenfible to Hollanders and others, many of whom become Burghers; and the rest, by their near way of living, are less subject to Envy; but is more especially the Case of the English Merchants, who find it not their Interest to become Burghers, and usually live somewhat too high.

The Interest of England in the Trade of Suedenmay be computed by the Necessity of their Commodities to us, and the Vent of ours there: Their Copper, Iron, Tar, Pitch, Masts, &c. cannot be had elsewhere, except from America, whence it has been supposed such Supplies may be furnished; and if so, this Consideration ought in reason to have an Influence on the Suedish Counfels, and engage them to make the English Trade with them as easy as possible, that the Merchants

be not driven upon new Defigns.

As to our Importations thither, it has already been faid that they scarce amount to one Third of what we export from thence, and confift chiefly of Cloth, Stuffs, and other woollen Manufactures; of which has been formerly vended yearly there to the Value of about 50000 l. Besides these,

 $U_2$ Tobacco, Tobacco, New-Castle Coals, Pewter, Lead, Tin. Fruits and Sugar, with feveral other of our Commodities, are fold at this Market; as also good Quantities of Herrings from Scotland, with other of their Wares; that in all we are supposed to vend Goods to about 100000 l. a Year, whereof if any more than half be paid for, it is extraordinary. But the making of Cloth in Sueden to Supply the Army, &c. which has been formerly endeavoured without Success, being now encouraged and affifted by the Publick, and undertaken by fome Scots and others, has of late, and does now prove a great Hindrance to the Vent of our Cloth there. And to favour this Undertaking, English Cloth is now (unless it be fuch finer Cloths as cannot be made here) clogg'd with fuch exceffive Duties as render the Importation of it impractica-Thefe Undertakers have got Workmen from Germany, and some from England; and befides the German Wool they use, they receive great Quantities from Scotland (Supposed to be practifed out of England) without which they cannot work. Yet as at prefent the English Trade in Sueden is of the Importance above mentioned, notwithstanding the Abatements aforesaid, it is however confiderable, and will be fo while their Commodities continue to be necessary; and those that are concerned in it will deferve, as they need, Protection and Encouragement.

The last Treaty of Commerce between the two Nations expired several Years ago; and that of an older Date neither suits the present State of Things, nor has been thought by the Suedes to subsist, tho' now, for their own Interest, they insist upon the contrary: Accordingly their Treatment of the English is only in reference to their own Convenience; and as the Subject of sormer

Complaints

Complaints still remains, so new Burdens are frequently imposed upon them. Sometimes they have demanded of Merchants that were leaving the Country, a fixth Part of the Estate they had got in it, and arrested their Essects on that aecount. And besides others, that more directly concern their Trade, the quartering of Soldiers, and paying of Contributions, has been exacted for some Years, and sometimes the English forced to submit to it.

In the Year 1687, upon their Petition to the King for Redress of these Impositions, which were then laid very high, upon some above 50 l. upon others 40, 30, &c. besides that such of them as kept House had Soldiers quartered upon them, fome 3, 6, or 8; in answer to their Petition a *Placaet* was published, declaring that they should be exempt from those Payments; but withal, that no foreign Merchant should continue to trade in Sueden above two Months in a Year, unless he would become a Burgher. In pursuance of which Resolution their Warehouses were shut up for fome time, and the Suedes feemed refolved to proceed to Extremity; but have not put that Refolution generally in Execution, though they feem to wait for an Opportunity; and now and then they try it upon particular Persons, to see how foreign Princes will take it.

The Law that exacts the third Part of such foreign Merchants Estates as die in Sueden, has not in effect been so beneficial to the Suedes, as frightful to the Merchants; who (especially the English) for that and other Reasons never think of marrying and settling there, so long as their Affairs are in good Order, and they in a Condition to return home with a competent Estate and Credit. Upon which account England seems to be less concern'd

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to endeavour the Repeal of that Law, it being more useful to have Sueden a Nursery for young Merchants, than a Place of Settlement for those that have got Estates.

#### CHAP. XV.

## Of the Suedish Conquests.

THE antient Expeditions of the Goths, and the Kingdoms they erected in France, Spain, Italy and elsewhere, upon the Ruins of the Roman Empire, have little Connection with the present State of the Country, and only shews, that their Nation was then much more populous and pewerful than it has been in latter Times, which is generally ascribed to the use of Polygamy among them while they were Heathens; but the Conquests which continue to be beneficial to Sueden at this Day, are of a much later Date.

For it was not till the Year 1560. that the Suedes got Footing in Leifland, when the Knights Templars, who were Masters of those Parts, being overthrown by the Muscovites, King Erick of Sueden was invited by the Inhabitants of Revel, and the Country adjacent, to take them into his Protection, which he consented to; and the Door being thus opened, the Crown of Sueden has by Degrees wrested from the Poles and Muscovites the greatest Part of Leifland, and some Provinces of Russia adjoining to it; Countries of inestimable Value to Sueden, as which both cover it from the Incursions of the Poles and Muscovites, and surnish it with plentiful Supplies of Corn and other Commodities; besides the Benefit it reaps

by

by the vast Trade of those Parts. On the side of Denmark, besides Yempterland and Hercadale, two Northerly Provinces lying opposite to Norway, they have recovered the rich Countries of Schonen, Halland and Bleaking, which join to the Body of Sueden; and gave the Danes, while they poffes'd them, free Entrance into the very Heart of the Country. They have also got from the Danes the Territory of Babuns, which prevents all Inroads from that fide of Norway. These, together with the Countries of Pomerania and Bremen, are fo confiderable, that their Writers own that the prefent Royal Family hath augmented the Kingdom near one half; only with this Difadvantage, that all the Neighbours of Sueden are thereby disobliged, and watch all Opportunities to retrieve their Losses; so that Sueden can never firmly depend upon the Friendship of Denmark, Poland, Muscovy, or any other neighbouring Princes.

#### CHAP. XVI.

Of the Interest of Sueden.

THE great domestick Interest of Sueden has been of late thought to consist in the Advancement of the King's Revenue and Authority at home, in order to make him more formidable abroad; so that the Nation has had no Interest distinct from the King's; as the King, on the other side, would seem to have an inseparable Connection with the Prosperity of his Subjects in general, and most especially of the Yeomanry, or Peasants, who are accounted the Basis of the King-

dom, rather than the trading Part. Therefore tho' the Peasants have not been spared from bearing a considerable Share of the common Burden, yet more care has been taken to make it sit easy upon them than upon the rest, and they delivered from the Oppression of their Fellow Subjects, which they formerly laboured under. The Encouragement of Trade and Manusactures is also the King's Care, and great Wonders are expected from it; but doubtless there is much more in their Imaginations than will ever be found in the Effect,

It is also found the King's Interest to keep the Nobility and Gentry very low. In Matters of Religion his Majesty hath no other Interest than to maintain the present Establishment, and keep the Clergy to the due Performance of their Duty, which admits of little or no Difficulty.

In general the chief domestick Interest of the King of Sueden is to preserve the Government in its present State, and secure it such to his Successors; it being constituted so much to the Advantage of the Royal Family, that in that Regard it can hardly be bettered by any Change.

In relation to Foreign Affairs, it is apparently the Interest of Sueden to avoid all offensive War, as being already in the quiet Possession of as many conquer'd Provinces on all sides as it can well defend; tho' more would not displease them, if they could be got with Sasety: To maintain a good Correspondence with Muscovy, by a due Observation of the Treaty lately concluded: And endeavour to end the Point of Separation of the Limits, which is the only Matter that can be like to create Trouble on that side with Poland.

Sueden has little occasion of Difference, or reafon to apprehend any Quarrel, neither does it seem feem the Interest of Sueden to aim at any further Enlargements, in Germany; but rather to use all good Offices to preserve the Treaty of Munster, as the Foundation of its Right to Pomerania and Bremen: Which Provinces are of such Importance to Sueden, as rendering it much more considerable to all Europe than it would otherwise be, that they will never be parted with so long

as Sueden is able to defend them.

The Intercourse with Denmark has seldom been friendly; nor have there ever wanted Grounds of Quarrels, when the Conjunctures were favourable; tho' at prefent Sueden feems to have little occasion of Misintelligence with that Crown, unless on the account of the State of Affairs abroad, and the feveral Interests they have to mind therein; their Agreement in Point of Trade feems to cement them, but their Emulation in regard of a Mediation, and in other Points, is as likely to keep them at a distance; nor is it at all probable they ever will, or can fo far furmount their mutual Diffrusts, as actually to take part on the same side. But in regard of their own Affairs, Sueden has gained fo much from Denmark already, and the Interest of the trading Part of Europe is so much concern'd to hinder it from getting more, that being also inferior to Denmark by Sea, it is not probable it will in many Years have any Defign of enlarging its Territories farther on that fide, tho' it has undoubtedly a longing Defire to Norway, which would make it the fole Master of all Naval Stores. And Denmark is fo much weaker at Land, that Sueden has no reason to apprehend it, unless domestick Consusions do happen, which in all times Denmark has been ready to foment, and has frequently profited by them; and it is not very improbable, but it may

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in not many Years have an Opportunity of doing fo again; for which reason especially it is the Interest of Sueden to carry fair, and live at Peace with Denmark.

In Point of Alliances, the less Sueden can depend upon its Neighbours, the more careful it has been to entertain Friendship farther from home, especially with France; which first began about 150 Years ago between Francis the First, and Gustavus the First, and subsisted till of late Years, that the Emperor's Party was thought more agreeable to the Nation's Interest, which it

has accordingly espoused.

The Friendship of England or Holland, or both, has ever been accounted indispensably necessary to Sueden, in regard of its Weakness by Sea; neither has Sueden hitherto engaged in any War where both those Nations were Parties; and if such a Case should happen, 'tis not to be doubted but Sueden would use all possible means to obtain a Peace: For that the Country cannot subsist without a quick Vent of its own Commodities, and continual Supplies of such Necessaries as it must receive from abroad; of which it is very unusual to make any Provision before-hand, or lay up greater Stores than what one Winter consumes.

#### C H A P. XVII.

An Extract of the History of Sueden.

THE Original of the Suedish Nations, which their Historians ascribe to Magog, Son of Japhet, whose Expedition thither they place in the Year 88 after the Flood, is built upon such uncertain

uncertain Conjectures, as neither deferve to be mentioned, nor credited, any more than the Names of the Kings supposed to succeed him, invented by the Writers to fill up the Vacuities of those dark Times, of which other Countries, more likely to have been first planted, can give fo little Account: Therefore tho' the Country might possibly have been early inhabited, yet nothing of Certainty can be known of it, till the Coming of Othinus, or Woden, who was driven out of Asia by Pompey the Great, about fixty Years before the Birth of Christ. From this Woden, who (as their Historians report) conquer'd Muscovy, Saxony, Sueden, Denmark and Norway, all Northern Nations have been ambitious to derive their Extraction: With him the Heathenish Religion, that afterwards prevailed in the North, Witchcraft, and other like Arts, were brought in; as also the Custom of raising great Heaps of Earth upon the Graves of Persons of Note, and engraving of Funeral Infcriptions upon Rocks and Stones, which yet remain in all Parts of the Country.

To Woden, after his Death, divine Honours were paid, as the God of War; and as the two first Days of the Week were named after the Sun and Moon, and Tuesday after Tis or Disa, an ancient Idol, so Wednesday had its Name from him, as Thursday from Thor, and Friday from Frigga; which three last were long the chief Objects of the Northern Idolatry. The Succession of the Kings after Woden is full of Consusion; the Nation being sometimes parcelled into several little Kingdoms; sometimes into two, Sueden and Gothia; often subject to Denmark or Norway, and sometimes Master of those Countries, as also of others more distant, where the Goths, that forsook their native

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native Soil, happened to plant themselves; but when, or on what particular Occasions they made those Migrations, is not certainly known, nor how long they had been abroad when they first began to insest the *Roman* Empire, about 300 Years after Christ.

That the Saxons, who were called into England about the Year 450, were originally a Colony of Goths, is conjectured from the Agreement of their Language, Laws and Customs. But that the Suedes and Goths joined with the Danes and Norwegians in their Invasion of England about the Year 800, we are assured from our own Historians, that expressly mention them, with the Character of Barbarous and Pagan Nations, as they then were; and the same may be concluded from the many Saxon Coins that are frequently found in Sueden, and in greater Variety than in England, which seem to have been the Dane Gilt, or Tribute that the Nation then paid.

The Normans also, who about that Time settled in France, were in part Natives of this Country; so that England, together with the Miseries that accompanied those Conquests, owes a great

Part of its Extraction to these People.

But to pass on to Times of more Certainty, it was about the Year 830 that the Emperor Ludovicus Pius sent Ansgarius, afterwards Archbishop of Hamburg, to attempt the Conversion of the Suedes and Goths, who at first had little or no Success; but in his second Journey, some Years after, he was better received, and baptized the King Olaus, who was afterwards martyred by his Heathen Subjects, and offered in Sacrifice to their Gods; nor did Christianity become the general Religion of Sueden till about a hundred Years after, when it was planted by the English Bishops formerly

formerly mentioned, fent for thither by another Olaus; in whose Time the Kingdom of Sueden and that of Gothia were united, but became afterwards to be separated again, and continued so near two hundred Years; when they were again joined, on Condition that the two Royal Families should succeed each other by Turns, as they did for the Space of one hundred Years, but not without

great Diforders and much Blood-shed.

This Occasion of Quarrel, which ended in the Extirpation of the Gothick Family, was fucceeded by another; for Waldemar, Son of Berger; Jerle or Earl, who was descended from the Royal Family of Sueden, being at that Time chosen King, by his Father's Advice, he created his three Brothers Dukes of Finland, Sudermanland, and Smaland, with fuch a Degree of Sovereignty in their respective Dukedoms, as enabled them to diffurb their Brother's Government, who was at last forced to refign the 1279. Kingdom to his Brother Magnus, which he left to his Son Berger, who lived in 1290. continual Diffension with his two Brethren, Erick and Waldemar, till he took them Prisoners, and famish'd them to Death; upon which he was driven out of the Kingdom, and fucceeded by Duke Erick's Son

his Son Erick to be chosen King of Sueden jointly with himself, as his other Son Haguinus was of

Norway.

Both these Brothers made War upon their Father, who thereupon caused the eldest to be poisoned; the other, Haquinus, being reconciled to his Father, married Margaret the Daughter of Waldemar King of Denmark, in whose Person the three Northern Kingdoms were afterwards united.

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united. This Magnus being deposed, for his ist Government, made place for his Sifter's Son

the Suedes were foon weary, and offered the Kingdom to Margaret, whose Husband Haquinus had left her Norway, and her Father Denmark. King Albert therefore being beaten in a pitch'd Battle,

was taken Prisoner by this

enacted the Union of the three Crowns into a Law; which was ratified by the States of those Kingdoms, but proved much to the Prejudice of Sueden, and to the Advantage of Denmark, which People had always the Art or Luck to get their King's Favour, and render the Suedes and Norwegians suspected; conformable to Queen Margaret's Advice to her Successor: Sueden shall feed you, Norway shall cloath you, and Denmark shall defend you. At her Request the three Nations

chose her young Nephew

1396.] Erick of Pomerania, referving to herfelf the Government during his Minority, which she out-lived, and had time to repent; at last she died of the Plague in the Year 1412. This Erick married Philippa the Daughter of Henry IV. of England: Of her their Histories relate, that Copenhagen being besieged, and King Erick in Despair retreating to a Monastery, she took the Command of the City, and beat the Besiegers; but afterwards having, in the King's Absence, sitted out a Fleet that was unsuccessful, at his Return he so beat and abused her, that she thereby miscarried; and, retiring into a Cloyster, died soon after.

The Oppression the Suedes lay under from Strangers, and to whom the King committed the Government of Provinces, and the Custody of all Castles,

Castles, contrary to the Articles of the Union, made them at last throw off the Yoke, and renounce their Allegiance to King Erick, in whose Place they substituted the General of the Kingdom, Carl Knuteson, with the Title of Protector, which he held about four Years, till they were persuaded to accept

1440.] Christopher of Bavaria, whom the Danes and Norwegians had already chosen: His short Reign gave the Suedes new Disgusts to the Union; so that upon his Death they divided themselves

and chose

1448.] Carl Knuteson to be their King, who had before been their Protector, and remains a memorable Example of the Vicissitude of Fortune, for after he had reigned ten Years he was driven out by a Danish Faction, and, retiring to Dantzick, was reduced to great Want.

1458.] Christian of Oldenburg, King of Denmark and Norway, succeeded him, and renewed the Union, which was soon dissolved. Christian, after a Reign of five Years, being turn'd out,

which he held only three Years, being over-power'd by a Faction of the Clergy, and forced to forswear the Crown, and retire into Finland, where he again fell into Want. Upon his Deposition, his Daughter's Husband

Erick Axelton was made Governor of the Kingdom, which was miserably shattered by Factions, of which the Bishops were the greatest Ringleaders, in favour of Christian of Denmark, whom they endeavoured to restore; but their Party being worsted,

King of Sueden, and continued so till his Death:

Upon which

Family, was made Protector of the Kingdom, which he defended a long time against King Christian, and his Successor to the Crowns of Denmark and Norway, but was at last forced to give place to

1497.] John, who again restored the Union of the three Crowns; but pursuing his Predecessors Steps in oppressing the Nation, and imploying of Strangers, he was soon expell'd the Kingdom,

1501.] And Steno Sture was again made Pro-

tector; and he dying,

Quality. He had continual Wars with King John all the time of his Government, which at his Death was conferred on his Son

the Danish Faction which the Archbishop of Upsal headed; till dying of a Wound he received in a

Skirmish against the Danes,

Christiern, or Christian II. King of Denmark and Norway, was advanced to the Crown of Sueden; but behaved himself so tyrannically, and shed so much innocent Blood, especially of the Nobility, which he design'd utterly to root out, that his Reign became intolerable, and the whole Nation conspired against him under the Conduct of

Kings of Sueden; whose Father had been beheaded, and his Mother had two Sisters imprifoned by Christiern. He was at first received Governor of the Kingdom, and two Years after had the Regal Dignity conferr'd on him: And as the Danes and Norwegians had also expell'd King Christiern, who had married the Emperor Charles the Fifth's Sister, and repaired to the Imperial Court

Court for Succour, which he could not obtain to any purpose, being upon his landing in Norway defeated and taken Prisoner, in which State he continued to his Death; therefore Gustavus was freed from all further Trouble on that account, and at liberty to redress the Disorders of the Kingdom, which were great. His first Contest was with the Clergy, who had been the Authors of much Confusion in former Reigns; to prevent which for the future, he took all Occasions to diminish their Revenues, reuniting to the Crown all the Lands that had been given to the Church the last hundred Years; which, together with the Reformation of Religion, disquieted the first ten Years of his Reign, and occasioned frequent Commotions. Which being over, the Remainder of his Time pass'd without any Disturbance at home, or Wars abroad, fave only with Lubeck, and fometimes

with Muscovy.

Hitherto the Kingdom of Sueden had for feveral hundred Years been elective, but was at this time made hereditary to the Male Issue of Gustavus, in a right Line of Succession; with Refervation, that in default of fuch Issue, the Right of Election should return to the Estates. vus by his three Wives had four Sons, and feveral Daughters: His eldeft Son Erick was to fucceed to the Crown; John was made Duke of Finland; Magnus, Duke of Oftrogothia; and Charles, Duke of Sudermanland; whereby those Provinces were in a manner difmembered from the Crown: An Error in Policy that Sueden has so oft fmarted for, that they have fince made folemn Resolutions never to be guilty of it again. Thus having in his Reign of thirty-fix Years brought the Kingdom into fuch a flourishing Condition as it had not seen in many Ages, and entail'd a Crown

Crown upon his Family, in which it still conti-

nues, he left it to his Son

profecuting his intended Voyage to England, with hopes to marry Queen Elizabeth. He reigned nine Years, five of which he kept his Brother John close Prisoner, upon Suspicion of his designing to supplant him, as he finally did; but not before Erick, by making a Peasant's Daughter his Queen, and by several cruel and dishonourable Actions, had lost the Affections of all his Subjects; so that he was without much Difficulty deposed, and condemned to a perpetual Prison, where he ended his Life. Upon his Deposition the Crown came to

1568.] John III. notwithstanding the States of the Kingdom had engaged their future Allegiance to King Erick's Son, that he had by the Queen before Marriage. The War with Muscovy, which began in King Erick's Time, about Leifland, was carried on by this King with good Success, and several Places taken, to which not only Muscovy, but Poland and Denmark also pretended; for as the Knights Templers had transferr'd their Right to Leifland upon Poland, fo the Muscovites had agreed to deliver it to Magnus Duke of Holstein, the King of Denmark's Brother; in Confideration of a fmall Acknowledgment to the Czar of Muscovy, as the Supreme Lord: So that four great Nations claimed this Country at once, which possibly might facilitate the Suedish Conquests.

This Prince's Reign was disquieted by his Attempt to alter the establish'd Religion, in which he made considerable Progress; but was sometimes in doubt whether he should endeavour an Union with the Latin or Greek Church; to the

former

former of which he at last declared himself, but could not prevail with his Subjects to sollow his Example. He kept his Brother Erick ten Years in Prison, and then thought it necessary for Sasety to have him poisoned, according to the Advice which it is said the States of the Kingdom had given.

His Brother Magnus did not minister any Cause of Suspicion, being disturbed in his Brain, and

uncapable of having any Defign.

But his Brother Charles gave him sufficient Occasion of Jealousy; and it was not without great Difficulty that Things were kept from coming to an Extremity between them.

After a Reign of thirty-fix Years, King John died by the Fault of an ignorant Apothecary, there being then no Physicians in Sueden. To him

fucceeded his Son

rine, a Princess of the Jagellan Family in Poland: To which Crown Sigismund had been elected, five Years before his Father died. His Brother John was in his Minority; so that his Uncle Charles had the Government of the Kingdom, till Sigismund came from Poland to be crowned in Sueden; which was not till about a Year after his Father's Decease. His Coronation was retarded some Months by the Difficulties that arose about the Points of Religion, and the Confirmation of Privileges: All which were at last accommodated, and the King, after a Year's Stay in Sueden, returned to Poland, leaving the Kingdom in great Consusion, which daily increased.

1598.] So that at his Return fome Years after, he was met by his Uncle at the Head of an Army, which defeated the Forces the King brought with him. Whereupon an Accommoda-

tion being patched up, he returned to Poland, leaving his Uncle to manage the Government: Which Post he held, till the States being weary of Sigismund, and having in vain brought him to confent to his Son's Advancement to the Crown, which his Brother John also refused, they conferr'd it upon his Uncle Charles the IXth; who thereby became engaged in a War with *Poland*, as he was already with Muscovy; the Scene of both 1604. being in Leifland, where the Suedes lost Ground, till the Affairs of Muscovy fell into such Confusion, that they were forced to give Sueden a Peace, that they might have its Affiftance against the Poles and Tartars; which was granted upon Terms very advantageous for Sueden, and fent under the Conduct of Count Jacob de la Gardie, who did Muscovy great Service; but the Muscovites failing to perform the Conditions stipulated, he broke with them, and took the City of Novogrod, and disposed the Inhabitants, with others of the neighbouring Provinces, to defire Prince Charles Philip, the King's younger Son, to be their Czar; which was fo long in treating about, that the Opportunity was loft.

The Year before this King's Death a War broke out with *Denmark*; in which State he left

the Kingdom to his Son

the War with Denmark by the Mediation of James I. of England, applied himself to that of Leisland and Muscovy: To the Borders of which he sent his Brother, not with an Intention to procure his Establishment in that Throne, which he rather aimed at for himself; but to induce the fortisted Places adjacent to Finland and Leisland, to accept of Suedish Garisons in Prince Charles Philip's Name; which succeeded in a great measure, till

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till another was chosen Czar; with whom, after various Success on both sides, a Peace was concluded by the Mediation of England and Holland; by which Sueden, besides part of Leisland, got the Country of Ingermanland, and the Province of Kexholm, with several fortisted Places, and wholly shut out the Muscovites from the East Sea.

The Polish War, that had some short Intervals of Truces, was of a longer Continuance, and no less beneficial to Sueden; which, in the Course of it, took Riga, and all other Places the Poles had in Leisland, except only one Fort; and thence carried the War into Prussia with the like Success, till at last, by the Interposition of England, France, &c. a Truce was concluded for fix Years.

This gave Gustavus Leisure to engage in the German War, to which he was both provoked by the Emperor, and encouraged by others. The Year following he began that Expedition; and on June 24, arriving in the Mouth of the Oder, he landed his little Army, that consisted of sixteen Troops of Horse, and ninety-two Companies of Foot, making about eight thousand Men; which, besides other Additions, was augmented by six Regiments of English and Scotch under Duke Hamilton, but more by the King's incredible Success.

Upon his first Approach Stetin and all Pomerania sell into his Hands. The Year following having joined the Elector of Saxony, Sept. 7:
he gave the Emperor's Army, under General Tilly, a total Overthrow near Leipsig;
Whence he travers'd Franconia, the Palatinate,
Bavaria, &c. till the next Year, at the Battle of
Lutzen (where his Army was again victorious)
he was treacherously kill'd (as 'tis believed) by
Francis Albert, Duke of Saxon Lawenburgh; not

X 3

only to the great Joy of the *Imperialists*, but of *France* and others his Friends, who envied and feared the farther Increase of his Greatness. By his Death the Crown fell to his Daughter

Christina, a Princess of five Years old, in whose Favour her Father had gained the States of the Kingdom to alter the Hereditary Union, as it is stiled, which restrained the Succession to the Male Line. In her Minority the Chancellor Axel Oxenstiern had the Direction of the Suedish Affairs in Germany, where the War was profecuted with Variety of Success, but much to the Advantage of Sueden, which was posses'd of above a hundred fortified Places, and had an Army exceeding 100000 Men, when Prince Charles Gustavus was Generalissimo, a little before the Conclufion of the Treaty of Munster: By which Sueden obtained for its Satisfaction the Dukedoms of Pomerania, Bremen and Verden, with the City of Wilmar, and a Right of Session to vote in the Diets of the Empire, and Circle of Lower Saxony, as also the Sum of five Millions of Crowns. The Queen had for feveral Years entertained a Resolution to quit the Crown, which she at last effected; and after having procured Prince Charles Gustavus to be declared Hereditary Prince (whom the States would gladly have had the Queen marry, but neither he nor she were inclined to it) with much Solemnity she divested herself \* of the Crown, and released her Subjects from 7an. 6. their Allegiance, which the same Day 1654. was conferred upon

Charles Gustavus, who the Year following made War upon Poland, to revenge the Affront done to him in protesting against his Admission to the Crown. His Progress at first surprized not only Poland, but alarm'd all Europe; for in three Months

<sup>\*</sup> She died in 1689.

Months time he had taken all Prussia except Dantzick, a great Part of Lithuania, the Cities of Warfaw, Cracow, and other Places in the Greater and Leffer Poland: most of the People of those Provinces fwearing Allegiance to him, as being deferted by King Casimir, who was fled into Silefia. But this Career of Prosperity did not long continue; the first Consternation being over, the Poles were as ready to fall from him, as they had been to embrace his Party: Besides, the Emperor. Muscovy, and Holland became his Enemies, as alfo Denmark; which gave the King of Sueden an honourable Occasion of quitting Poland, where he could not long have fubfifted. Having therefore left his Brother, Prince Adolph, Governor of Prussia, he hastened to Denmark, which he soon reduced to a Necessity of buying Peace at the Price of the Provinces of Schonen, Halland, and Bleaking; which was concluded in the following Spring, but broke out again in few Months.

an Army the following Summer in Zealand, where he took the Castle of Cronenburgh at the Entrance of the Sound; but had not the like Success at Copenbagen, which was besieged and stormed in vain: And being the former Summer relieved by a Fleet from Holland, the Siege was turned into a Blockade, and continued so; till Charles Gustavus, having by his bold and successful Attempts in six Years time drawn upon Sueden the Enmity of almost all Europe, was taken away by a Fever,

and left the Crown to his Son

Ministers obtain'd Peace with Poland, Muscovy, the Emperor, Brandenburgh, Holland, and Denmark, upon honourable Conditions, which continued till it was interrupted by the late War; of which an Account has been given already.

X 4 ADDITIONS

## ADDITIONS, by the Publisher of this FOURTH EDITION.

1697. CHARLES XII. fucceeded to his Father Charles XI, in 1697. For his Actions we refer to M. de Voltaire's History of them, a Book in every body's Hands. We shall only observe, That the Government of Sueden having been changed into an absolute Monarchy in the Father's Time, as is very particularly related in the IXth Chapter of the preceding Account of Sueden; the Exercise of it during this his Son's Reign, was carried rigoroufly to the highest Pitch that despotick Power can be strained to, as is manifest from Voltaire; who shews, that the Suedish Nation lived in perfect Awe and Dread of Charles XII, submitted intirely to his Will, and endured every Pressure he laid upon them with the most passive Resignation. But it was no fooner known that his Breath was out of his Body, than his chief Minister Baron Goertz was seized, and soon after by Sentence of the Senate at Stockholm beheaded under the Gallows. And indeed it was become fo notorious to the Suedes of all Ranks and Conditions, that their Miseries were owing to the exorbitant Use of arbitrary Power by Charles XII, that upon his Death an immediate Change of Government was the only Remedy that prefented itself to every one's Mind, The Princess Ulrica Eleanora having, on the 5th of December O. S. 1718, received Advice at Stockholm of her Brother's Death, from her Confort the Prince of Heffe (who was in the Camp

Camp at Frederickshall when the King was killed on the 30th of November, and immediately took upon himself the Command of the Army,) she called the Senate together on the 6th, who refolved to proclaim her Queen that Day; and on the 7th, being Sunday, the Death of the King, and the Accession of the Queen to the Throne, was declared in all the Churches. Her Majesty, having wifely refolved to prevent the Nation's Wishes, caused a Proclamation to be published on the 15th, fummoning a general Affembly of the States of the Kingdom to be held on the 20th of January following; which Proclamation fet forth, That her Majesty had taken Possession of the Throne, which, on the Death of her Brother, the late King, became her's by Right of Inheritance: That in the Administration of the Government, she had firmly determined, out of regard to the Welfare and Prosperity of the Kingdom, to reform all Innovations, and intirely to abolish absolute and despotick Power, which by this Proclamation she declared she renounced for ever for herfelf and Succeffors; and that she would reestablish the Government in that ancient Form it happily enjoyed in former Times.

1719.] Pursuant to this Summons the States of Sueden repaired to Stockholm, and on the 3d of February 1718-19 opened their Assembly: When, the Queen having declared that she for ever renounced any Claim to absolute Sovereignty, and pretended to the Crown on no other Foot than by Right of Election, the States did in the first place declare the Throne vacant; which done, they unanimously elected her Queen; the Notification whereof was sent to her Majesty by a Deputation, who at the same Time gave her Assurances, in the Name of the whole Body, of their

constant

constant Loyalty and unalterable Zeal for her Person and Government. The States afterwards fpent some Days in settling the Form of the Administration, according to the old Constitution of the Kingdom; which being drawn up in feveral Articles, was to have been read the 17th; but this Affair was interrupted by a Motion which fome Members made to join the Prince of Hesse with her Majesty in the Regency: This occasioned warm Debates, to appeafe which the Prince of Hesse himself came to the Assembly on the 21st, and affured them, that he did not pretend to any Share in the Government, but would willingly accept, and chearfully discharge, any Part they should think fit to allot him in the publick Service. This Declaration calmed their Debates, and the faid Articles for re-establishing the old Conflitution passed into a Law.

1720.] The States of the Kingdom having been fummoned again to meet on the 14th of January O. S. 1719-20, they all repaired to Stockbolm, and opened their Session on the 22d; on which Day the four Orders, viz. the Nobility, Clergy, Burgesses, and Peasants, went in their usual Manner to attend the Queen at the Palace Royal. Her Majesty being seated on the Throne, Count Meyerfeldt, as first Commissioner of the Chancery, made a fhort Speech to the Assembly, acquainting them, that the Reason why the Queen found herfelf now obliged to convene them, was, that they might be informed of the present Posture of Affairs; to which End her Majesty had ordered an ample Account of all Transactions fince the last Session to be communicated to them, which was accordingly then read to the Assembly by M. Bark one of the Secretaries of State; and afterwards the Speaker of each Order of the States

made

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made a short Speech to the Queen, and kissed her Majesty's Hand, with which the Solemnity

of that Day ended.

On the 27th of February the whole Body of the States met, by the Queen's Appointment, at their feveral Houses, when her Majesty sent to each of the four Orders a Letter written with her own Hand: The first, which was addressed to the Nobility, was delivered by Count Flemming; the fecond to the Clergy, by Count Polus; the third to the Burgesses, by Baron Duben; and the fourth to the Peafants, by Count Leyonstedt, all Gentlemen of the Bedchamber; wherein her Majesty acquainted them, That in regard to the prefent nice and difficult Conjuncture, as well as out of the great and tender Affection which she bore to her Royal Confort the hereditary Prince of Heffe, she was extremely defirous to have his Royal Highness joined with her in the Administration of the Regal Power: And as she was perfuaded that his Affistance in the Execution thereof, was not only at prefent very necessary, but would conduce to the future Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation, she hoped the States would be of the fame Opinion; and earnestly defired they would gratify her in conferring on him the Regal Dig-Upon the Receipt of these Letters a Connity. ference was immediately held between the four Orders of the States, and it was agreed to appoint a felect Committee of 24 of the Nobility, and 12 of each of the other three Orders, to consider of the Queen's Propofal, and report their Opinion to the whole Body; accordingly each Order chose the fame Day their Members for the faid Committee.

This Committee fat feveral Days, and the placing the Prince of Hesse on the Throne, jointly with

with the Queen, as she had defired, became Matter of high Debate among them, that Method meeting with ftrong Opposition from a great Number of the Nobility; infomuch that her Majesty found it necessary to write a second Letter to the States, to acquaint them, that if any Difficulty was made in complying with the Method she had proposed, she was willing to recede from sharing any Part of the Royal Power with her Royal Confort, and content that it should be folely executed by him. The Prince also fent a Declaration to each Order of the States, figned by himself, to this Effect: That if they should think fit to confer on him the Royal Dignity, he would confirm and ratify whatever Restrictions and Limitations they might find proper to propose to him: That he was willing to conform himself to the national Church, and would inviolably maintain its Discipline as by Law established: That as he was the first who advised the Queen to renounce all Pretentions to arbitrary Power, fo he affured the States he would ftrictly observe all the Rules prescribed by the Form of Regency established in the last Session: That he would transact nothing relating to Suedish Affairs, but with the Advice and Approbation of his Suedish Counfellors: That he would promote no Foreigners to any Imployments either Civil or Military: And, laftly, that he would encourage the Commerce of the Kingdom, and do every thing in his Power to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.

On the 22d of March the States came to an unanimous Resolution to acquiesce in the Queen's Request made to them, that she might be permitted to transfer and resign the Exercise of the Regal Power to her Consort the Prince of Hesse:

Which

Which Resolution was the same Asternoon notified to the Queen and Prince by a select Committee of each Order of the States; when his Royal Highness also signed an Instrument containing an Assurance of his inviolably observing the Conditions whereon the Crown was offered him.

On the 24th the States chose another Committee confifting of four Counts, four Barons, and 16 of the inferior Nobility; and of the Clergy, Burgesses, and Peasants, eight of each Order, to present their Act of Election to the Prince; at which Ceremony his Royal Highness fent that Morning to defire all the foreign Ministers to be present; and about one o'Clock in the Afternoon the faid Committee, with Count Horn, Land-Marshal or Speaker of the House of the Nobles, at the Head of them, repaired to the Palace, where they were introduced to the Prince in a large Hall by Baron Duben Marshal of the Court; when Count Horn made a fhort Speech to his Royal Highness, acquainting him that the Committee which waited on him the 22d, having communicated to the States the Instrument of Affurance which he had then been pleafed to fign, the States had directed him, with the Committee that accompanied him, to wait on his Royal Highness, and to acquaint him in the Name of the whole Body of the States, that they had unanimously elected him to be their King, and commanded him then to declare him, Frederick, hereditary Prince of Hesse, &c. to be King of the Suedes, Goths, and Vandals, and all the Territories to them belonging; and prayed that his Majesty, as he then called him, would be pleased to permit that their Act of Election might be read to him, which was accordingly done by the Secretary

cretary of the House of the Nobles; and afterwards Count Horn presented the Scepter to his Majesty, which a Herald held by him for that Purpose; which the King forthwith restored, and made thereupon a short Speech to the Committee. wherein he told them, That he could not with Gratitude enough acknowledge the extraordinary Mark of Affection which the Queen had shewn him on this Occasion, and that he thankfully accepted the Offer the States made him, and would make it the whole Study of his Life to shew them how much he thought himself obliged to them for advancing him to the Throne; and that during the whole Course of his Reign, he would be folely guided by the Advice of the Council of the Kingdom; and would, on all Occasions, promote the Welfare and Glory of the Nation, and endeavour to live with them not only as their King, but as their Friend and Brother: Whereupon all the Members of the Committee kiffed the King's Hand, as did afterwards the Senators and a great many of the principal Nobility; and then his Majesty was complimented by his Excellency the Lord Carteret the British Ambassador, and all the other foreign Ministers; wherewith the whole Ceremony ended at the Palace, and the Heralds proceeded to proclaim the King with the usual Solemnities in all the publick Places of the City of Stockholm.

The 14th of May being appointed for the King's Coronation, the King and Queen repaired to the great Church of St. Nicholas in Stockholm, the Regalia being carried before them by the great Officers of State: The Solemnity was performed by the Archbishop of Upsal, and Count Horn administred the usual Qaths to his Majesty, and to

the Senators.

#### An Account of Sueden. 295

On the 17th the States of the Kingdom paid Homage to his Majesty, who being placed on the Throne, Count Horn, as Marshal of the Assembly, read the Oaths of Allegiance, which each Order of the States repeated after him. This being over, he read another Oath, by which they obliged themselves to defend the Liberties of their Country, and to oppose arbitrary Power: After which every Member kissed his Majesty's Hand, and departed.



#### THE

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#### ADVERTISEMENT.

S a Preparatory to the reading of the two following Pieces, it is necessary to premife, That Charles XII. King of Sueden, after an Absence of fifteen Years, spent in various Adventures, returned to his own Kingdom in December 1715. He refided at Carelfcroon the reft of that Winter, and applied himself with all Diligence to recruit and augment his Forces, and to make all the Preparations he could for War. In March 1716 he discovered his Design to be upon Norway, by the Motions of his Troops thither. Upon early Advice of this, and other fecret Intelligence, King George of Great-Britain fent Orders to his Resident, Mr. Jackson, at Stockholm, to give in a Memorial to the Chancery of Sueden, which he did on the 15th of June 1716; wherein, among other Things, he represented, 'That the King his Master, ' for Reasons of the greatest Weight, looked ' upon the Conquest of the Kingdom of Nor-' way, by the Arms of his Suedish Majesty, as ' a Matter of the last Importance for the Com-' merce of his Subjects, and for the Peace and ' Prosperity of his Kingdoms.' This Memorial at large was officiously put into the Post-Boy the 19th of July 1716, and a Pretence was taken from thence to publish a Pamphlet intitled, An English Merchant's Remarks upon it, about the Middle of September 1716: Which Remarks were afterwards discovered to have been written by Count Gyllenborg the Suedish Envoy at London.

In June 1716 the King of Sueden advanced with a Detachment of his Troops to Frederickshall, made a fudden Attempt upon the Town, and foon became Master of it, tho' with considerable Loss of Officers and Men. But the Danes made fo great a Fire from the Citadel, prefently after the Suedes got into the Town, that the King, finding it could not be maintained, ordered his Men to fet it on fire and draw off. And in less than three Months after, he was forced, by want of Provisions, to retire with his Army out of Nor-Being on his Return, he fent to the Princess his Sister to meet him at Wadstena; where on the 12th of September he made her a Vifit, without any Person to attend him, and remained with her till the next Day in the Evening. During his Stay he was thrice in Conversation with her, two Hours each time; and he shewed so great an Affection and Tenderness for her, that it was obferved he shed Tears at parting. The Night he was there, he lay, according to his Custom, on Straw, with his Cloaths and Boots on, the Princess not being able to prevail with him to make use of a Bed. This was the last Time they ever faw each other. From Wadstena the King of Sueden went to Lund in Schonen, and made it his Place of Refidence for many Months.

In the mean while his Britannick Majesty became perfectly informed, by intercepted Letters between Baron Goertz and Count Gyllenborg, of the King of Sueden's Designs against him and his Kingdoms, and of the Practices of the Suedish Ministers, and their Emissaries and Consederates, even among his own Subjects, for bringing in the Pretender: Whereupon his Majesty caused Count Gyllenborg to be put under Arrest, and his Papers to be seized, and those intercepted Letters to be

commu-

communicated to the Parliament, which met on the 20th of February 1716-17. Those Letters were also made publick by the Royal Authority. In the same Month of February, two or three Days before the Meeting of the Parliament, the first of the following Pieces, viz. Observations on the fore-mentioned Remarks upon Mr. Jackson's Memorial, was published, but without the Name of any Author in the Title, or of any Publisher at the Foot of the Title. These Observations were fet forth at that Juncture, to apprize the Publick timely and thoroughly of the personal Character and Temper, Conduct and Views, of the King of Sueden; and this was done with fo much Truth, Spirit, and Judgment, that M. de Voltaire, in his History of that King, which was written many Years after these Observations, could not describe him otherwise than in the very same Colours, tho' perhaps not fo mafterly.

As to the other Piece, intitled A short Narrative of the Life and Death of Count Patkul, it appears by the Letter prefixed to it, addressed to T. Goodwin the Bookseller for whom it was printed, that it came out in April 1717; and the Reasons for publishing it at that Time, are set forth in that Letter, briefly but strongly, in these Words (which we will only say are in the Spirit and Style of the Observations on the Remarks upon Mr. Jackson's Memorial) 'I have yielded to your repeated Desires, with too much Haste for a Performance of this kind, wherein it was necessary to add a few Resse.

'wherein it was necessary to add a few Resle-'ctions naturally arising from the Subject: But

<sup>&#</sup>x27;knowing how great the Expectations were, of fome very ill-minded Men among us, and how

great the Apprehensions of many good ones,

from this King of Sueden, and his defigned Ex-

' pedition, I would not delay it. Gentlemen of

both these Sorts may from hence learn, what

they are to fear, or hope for, from a Magna-

' nimity fo wrong turned; and an utter Igno-

rance of all Laws and Liberties; with an Impatience of Contradiction, beyond what has

appeared in the World these five hundred

' Years past.'

It must be observed, that the three Editions in 1694 of the Account of Denmark, were printed for the same T. Goodwin.

It may be proper just to add here, That the King of Sueden was so bent upon the Conquest of Norway, that in October 1718 he advanced again into it with an Army of 30000 Men, regular Troops, says Voltaire; who adds, 'He had laid 'Matters so, that he did not doubt to be Master 'of that Kingdom in six Months.' In order to it, he attempted Frederickshall a second time, by a formal Siege; in which he had made a good Progress, when on the last of November O. S. being Sunday, going to the Head of the Approaches, about nine o'Clock at Night, to see his Men carry on the Trenches by Star-light, he was killed by a Shot from the Place.

Thus ended that King's Enterprizes on Norway; which had given such Alarm to Great-Britain, as occasioned the publishing of the Pieces

the Reader is now entring upon.

# OBSERVATIONS

UPONA

# PAMPHLET

CALLED,

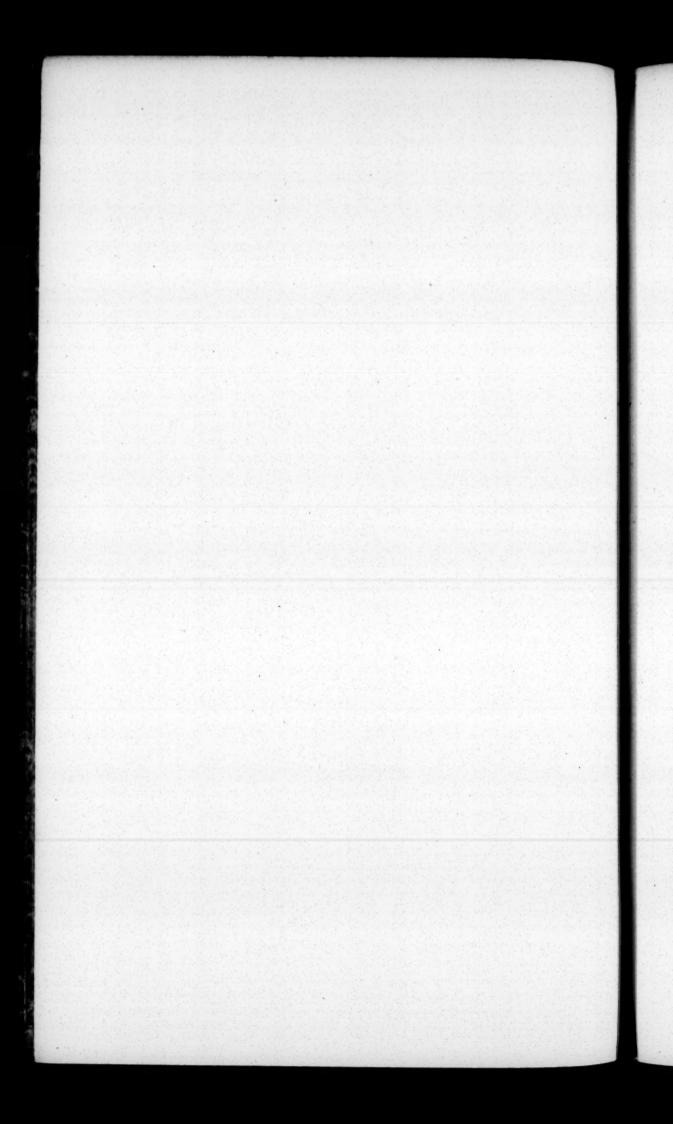
An English Merchant's REMARKS upon a scandalous Jacobite Paper published in the Post-Boy of the 19th of July 1716, under the Name of A MEMORIAL presented to the Chancery of Sueden, by the Resident of GREAT-BRITAIN.

Læsit prior. Ter. Prol. Eun.

The SECOND EDITION.



LONDON:
Printed in the YEAR 1738.



#### A

# MEMORIAL

Presented to the Chancery of Sueden, by the Resident of Great-Britain, Mr. Jackson, on the 15th of June, 1716.

HE underwritten Resident of His Majesty the King of Great-Britain, hath received express Orders from the King his Master, to inform your Excellencies, and the Royal Chancery, that the Commerce of the Subjects of Great-Britain having been very much interrupted for fome Years past, by the Suedish Men of War and Privateers; and being render'd of late almost impracticable, by the new Edict of Regulation concerning Privateers and Prizes, published last Year by his Suedish Majesty's Order; the King his Mafter was then obliged, for that Reafon, to fend a Squadron of Men of War, under the Command of his Admiral Sir John Norris, to protect the lawful Traffick of his Subjects. His Britannick Majesty promis'd himself from the Justice and Equity of the Demands which were then made in his Name, as well by the abovemention'd Admiral, as by the underwritten Resident, that his Suedish Majesty would soon have redrefs'd

# 304 Mr. Jackson's MEMORIAL.

redress'd the Grievances complain'd of, and reflored Commerce upon the Foot stipulated by the Treaties between the two Crowns. But although the said Admiral waited a long Time, he had yet the Missortune to return home without receiving the least Satisfaction: Neither hath the underwritten Resident ever obtained any Answer

to his Memorials upon that Subject.

Nevertheless, His Majesty hath all along hoped, that when his Suedift Majesty should more maturely have weighed the repeated Instances made thereupon, he would afterwards have given the necessary Orders for putting a Stop to the reasonable and well-grounded Complaints of Great-Britain; but on the contrary, he fees with a very fensible Concern, that his Subjects Grievances are multiplied, instead of being lessened, several of their Ships being taken this Year, and brought into Sueden, without Reason, or the least Shadow of Justice; particularly five or fix have been confiscated within this Fortnight at Gottenburg, notwithstanding they were bound hither to Stockbolm, as plainly appears from their Paffports and Papers: A Treatment as extraordinary, as it is unprecedented.

Wherefore the underwritten Resident hath it in Command especially to let your Excellencies and the Royal Chancery know, That the King his Master hath thought sit to send the said Sir John Norris again with a Squadron of his Ships, which are lately come into the Sound accordingly, in order to protect the British Commerce, and to demand once more, That Reparation and Satisfaction be made to his Subjects, for the Damage they have sustained by the Loss of their Ships, and the Consiscation of their Effects; and that the Difficulties which the British Commerce lies

under

under from the above-named Edict, may forthwith be removed; also that sufficient Security be given, that for the suture the said Commerce shall be restored upon the Foot stipulated by the Treaties: The underwritten Resident is ordered to insist upon these Demands in the strongest Terms.

And whereas divers Rebels are fled from Great-Britain into the Suedish Countries, the underwritten Resident is surther charged to represent, That the King his Master promises himself from the Equity and Friendship of his Suedish Majesty, that he will make no Dissiculty to give Assurances, and to engage solemnly, never directly or indirectly to give the least Assistance, Support or Resuge to the Pretender to his Crown, nor any Protection to the Lord Dussus, and others, who are lately fled into Sueden from Scotland, nor to any other Person who took Part in the Rebellion which not long since was happily

quell'd in Great-Britain.

The underwritten Resident is moreover commanded to acquaint your Excellencies, and the Royal Chancery, in the Name of the King his Master, That his Majesty, for Reasons of the greatest Weight, looks upon the Conquest of the Kingdom of Norway, by the Arms of his Suediffs Majesty, or the Reduction of any of the Islands belonging to the Crown of Denmark, as a Matter of the last Importance for the Commerce of his Subjects, and for the Peace and Prosperity of his Kingdoms; especially now that the Navigation of the whole Baltick is so very much restrained by the Suedish Men of War, and Privateers: Wherefore, if his Suedish Majesty still persists in the Execution of the faid Defigns, the King his Master must think it a Slight upon the most essential Interests of Great-Britain, not to make use

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of the Means which God has put into his Hands

to baffle those Enterprizes.

The Underwritten is ordered at the same Time to affure you, That in cafe his Suediff Majesty will be pleas'd to give Satisfaction upon the Points above-mentioned, the King his Mafter shall be very ready, and very well inclined on his Part. to strengthen and maintain the good Understanding which hath fo long fubfifted between the two Crowns, and which is fo much to be wish'd, and fo necessary between Protestant Princes. that he may the better show his earnest Desire to cultivate his Suedish Majesty's Friendship, he will very gladly employ his best Offices to adjust the Differences between his Suedish Majesty and the other Northern Powers, and to procure as good a Peace as is possible in the present Conjuncture of Affairs.

His Suedish Majesty's Prudence and Justice are so well known, that it is not doubted but he will look upon the Propositions which the underwritten Resident hath had the Honour to make in the King his Master's Name, to be so just and equitable, that he will give a favourable Answer to them without Delay. The underwritten Resident earnestly prays your Excellencies, and the Royal Chancery, to represent these Things in the proper Place, and in the manner which the Importance of the Subject requires; and that he may speedily be savoured with a suitable Answer in Writing, in order to send the same to the King his Gracious Master.

STOCKHOLM, June 15, 1716.

Signed

JACKSON.

An English Merchant's REMARKS upon a fcandalous Jacobite Paper, published the 19th of July last, in the Post-Boy, under the Name of AMEMORIAL presented to the Chancery of Sueden by the Resident of GREAT-BRITAIN.

Was very much furpriz'd to find in the Post-Boy of the 19th of July last, a Memorial supposed to have been presented to the Chancery of Sueden by the Resident of Great-Britain; for as it has not been usual to publish any Acts of this Nature (excepting only when the Minds of the People are to be prepar'd for an impending War;) and that it is impossible his Majesty can have any Defign to invade the King of Sueden; whom, by the strictest and most solemn Treaty, he is obliged to defend; and whose Destruction must certainly be attended by the Ruin of the Protestant Interest in general, that has cost England so many Lives and Millions; I could not but immediately conclude the Paper was spurious, and invented to alienate the Minds of his Majesty's good Subjects; and as fuch I shall endeavour to expose it.

I hope I shall thereby at least so far serve the Publick, as to prevent honest People's being any more misled by Papers of this Kind, or from passing too rashly their Censure on our Government: A Fault I myself was guilty of last Year, before I had considered the Incoherence, and consequently found out the Falseness of just such another Paper, that was then published, under the

Name

Name of Mr. Jeffreys's Memorial; for I had not only compar'd the Style of that pretended Memorial (faid to have been delivered to his Suedish Majesty, when besieged by his many powerful Enemies at Stralfund) with the polite Expressions of the Duke of Marlborough's Harangue to the fame Prince when he stood victorious in Saxony; and then I could not help being vexed, and ashamed to think how ungenerously we altered our Behaviour and Language to that glorious Prince, according to the Alterations in his Affairs: But I own, I even went fo far as to conclude, with the utmost Grief, that our great Men at the Helm, in order to bring about some new Scheme of fettling Matters in Europe, were positively resolved entirely to destroy Sueden; and that they therefore had ordered our Minister, Mr. Jeffreys, to address himself in so harsh Terms to the King of Sueden, as knowing that his noble and undaunted Spirit would least bear being ill treated in his Adversity; and expecting thus to provoke him to fome violent Step or other, thereby to get a fair Pretence for declaring openly against him, and so effectually undoing him. should have been still more confirm'd in that Opinion, had I feen the two Memorials which the malicious Paper, I now am upon, pretends Mr. Jackson and Admiral Norris delivered the fame Year, and, as I suppose, not in milder Terms: And I had certainly been fo far from finding Fault with the King of Sueden's not anfwering them, (a thing our present Memorial feems fo much nettled at) that I should have admired his Silence, as one of the greatest Proofs he could have given both of his Prudence and Mo-So wild and fo wrong are the Notions that are often infused into the Minds of unwary People

# on Mr. Jackson's Memorial. 309

People by these Sorts of scandalous Papers; so necessary it is either to hinder their being published, or to prevent the bad Effects thereof, by timely undeceiving their Readers, and setting

Things in their true Light.

To do this then, and to take Things in the Order which they are fet down in the pretended Memorial, I shall first observe, that the Prohibitions made by the King of Sueden, with respect to Trade, extend only to fuch of his own Ports as have been lately taken from him, and have been (almost all along) block'd up by his Men of This Prohibition was, for feveral Years, executed very gently: But the Obstinacy of our Merchants, nevertheless, to trade to the said Ports, and there (under false Passes, and got by Perjury) to furnish the Enemies of Sueden with all Sorts of contraband Goods; and, contrary to the express Words of our Treaties, even with Men of War, Officers, and Sailors; put at last the King of Sueden (after he had in vain fought for Redrefs herein from our Government) upon making those fo much complain'd of Regulations; thereby the better to prevent all Frauds, and a Trade entirely ruinous to his Kingdoms.

The Necessity of his Majesty's Affairs requir'd that he should thus use all the Means in his Power to hinder his Enemies from being supply'd with Materials of War; and herein he is amply justified by the Laws of Nations, and more especially by the Treaties substituting between him and the Crown of Great-Britain. It was by virtue of these very Treaties, that England thought she might seize upon all Suedish Ships trading to France, in the two last Wars; and that she consistence, in the two last Wars; and that she consistence a great many upon very slender Pretences: And such of them as had the good Fortune to be discharged,

discharged, suffer'd nevertheless considerably by the Loss of their Market, and the Expences of a tedious Defence in Dostors-Commons.

I had myfelf, at that time, very confiderable Dealings with the Suede, which the prefent War in the North, and the thereby-occasioned Interruption of our Trade there, have made me abandon for a Retreat into the Country. And as I then was very often defired by my Correspondents in Sueden, to use my good Offices for the difcharging of their Ships that were brought up here, fo I had thereby an Opportunity the better to know the many Hardships they underwent upon this Account. The least I can say of it is, that every individual Point of the above-mentioned Regulations the King of Sueden has made, is but too fufficiently warranted by the Precedents our Privateers and our Judges made then them-I advance herein nothing but Matter of Fact, and whereof I shall in a very short time fully convince the Publick.

Nor was it only in our Wars with France that England thought this lawful: For when both King Charles II. and before him Oliver Cromwel, made War with the Dutch, they feized all the Suediff Merchant-Ships they could get, in order to hinder that Republick from being furnish'd with Necesfaries of War: And yet these our Proceedings in the aforesaid Wars, when we always were in a Condition to act offensively, were by far not grounded on so urgent a Necessity, nor on the same Reasons as these of the Suedes, who are only upon their Desence, and now fight for their All.

We who in all our Wars made no Scruple to hinder the Suedish Trade to our Enemy's Country in general, what should we have done had France or Holland then made themselves Masters of Ire-

land

land or Scotland? and the Suedes, under Pretence of Freedom of Commerce, infifted upon trading with our Enemies in their new Conquests, and thereby help'd them to gain great Riches by the Product of the said Conquests, and to strengthen and maintain themselves the better in the Possession of them? I say, what should we have done in such a Case?

No doubt but we had done all that had lain in our Power to have hinder'd so dangerous and so ruinous a Trade to us: And why do we blame the Suedes? Nay, (if the pretended Memorial of Mr. Jackson be true) Why are we going to make War against them for doing the same to us, in respect to the Countries their Enemies have unjustly taken from them; even the very Countries which we by Treaties were obliged to defend?

The Crown of Sueden has to this very Day a Demand upon England of feveral hundred thoufand Pounds for Damages upon account of Ships unjustly either detained or confiscated. The Kings of Sueden, and especially his present Majesty, have had Opportunities enough to oblige us to give Satisfaction. There was a Time when a threatning Memorial, and a strong Squadron of Men of War fent to the Affiftance of the French, would most effectually have opened our Purse-Strings, as well as made us defift from feizing of any more Ships: But the King of Sueden scorned to. take any fuch Advantage of us. During both our Wars with France, his Ministers never made. Representations against our Proceedings but in the mildest Terms; and he himself either assisted the Confederates, or (when hinder'd by his own Wars) observed at least the strictest Neutrality between us and the French.

And

And after all this, would it not be highly derogatory to the Glory of his present Majesty of Great-Britain, and to the Honour of the whole British Nation, even to imagine a Memorial genuine, which implies their Generofity to be fo far inferior to that of the King of Sueden, as for a little paultry Lofs, which all the preceding Years, together with the last Year, amounted (according to the Accounts given in by our Merchants themfelves, and against which no doubt many just Exceptions can be made on the Suedish fide) but to 69024 l. and cannot this Year be supposed to amount to so much, to take hold of Sueden's prefent unfortunate Circumstances for to force a Satisfaction; to bully a Prince that is already attacked with five Enemies at once, and even to augment their Number.

Never was there any thing more contrary to the true *British* Spirit, who even in private Quarrels think it base for many to attack one; and consequently a Paper so highly injurious ought

most feverely to be resented.

As to the fecond Point, the King of Sueden's engaging not to espouse the Pretender's Interest, and not to harbour our Rebels in his Kingdom, nothing lays open the wicked Design of this Memorial more, and the Corner from whence it came.

The Jacobite Faction takes hold of every thing to keep up the Spirits of unthinking Men, who justly begin to slag now they see all the Designs and deep Plots of their Leaders miscarried. Sometimes they pretend to expect Fleets and Transports from Lorain; now and then they give out that another invincible Armada is coming from Spain: And then again they are sure of a prodigious Number of Ships sitting out in the Harbours of France,

France, and Troops drawing together upon the Sea-Coasts: Even the King of Sueden, in his greatest Distresses, is given out to be strong enough to cope with our Fleet and Armies: When he was belieged in Stralfund, he was then faid to intend a Descent here: And when return'd to Sueden, he was expected to march over the Ice to Scotland.

Our Government has all along justly laughed at these idle Stories, and despised them: And yet the Memorialist has the Assurance to infinuate. that a publick Minister apprehends them, and that confequently there is a real Danger; that is to fay, still Hopes left for the Jacobites. But these Tricks are too shallow; no Man of Sense can believe Mr. Jackson so ignorant of Sueden's present Condition, as to be infected with such illgrounded and panick Fears; and confequently to have inferted fo ridiculous a Point in any of his Memorials.

I take it also for granted, that the Representations, pretended to be made against the King of Sueden's receiving our Rebels, import no more, nor no less, than to encourage People to a new Rebellion; by telling them indirectly that there is fuch a Place as Sueden, where, if they miscarry, they may eafily fave themselves, and be well received. For as to Mr. Jackson, as of all Men living he could not be a Stranger to the King of Sueden's usual Justice; so it was impossible he should even suspect his Majesty's designing to protect our Rebels: Nor ought we to wrong his Capacity fo far, as to believe he understood no better what became his Character, than to trouble a Court with fo unnecessary and even reflecting a Memorial.

Besides, suppose the King of Sueden had given Refuge to any Rebels, what Right had Mr. JackJon to demand the contrary? You will say, that the Treaties between the two Nations expressly forbid the harbouring one another's Rebels: This is true; but do not the same Treaties as expressly promise Help and Assistance to Sueden, and all its Provinces, and forbid all direct or indirect Aid to its Enemies? Sure Mr. Jackson is too much a Minister for to demand a thing of so little Consequence, as the not harbouring a few unfortunate Men, by Vertue of the same Treaties; whose Non-Performance, and even Infraction in Matters of the greatest Importance, he knows complained of on the other Side.

When I first read the third Head of the pretended Memorial, I took it indeed to be very ill timed; it appearing to me altogether calculated for last Winter, when the *Post-Boy* was in so great a Hurry to make the King of *Sueden* Master of the whole Kingdom of *Norway*; no doubt in order to feed his *Jacobite* Friends with Hopes of that Prince's being thereby the nearer and abler

to affift them in Scotland.

For I thought it too gross an Imposition upon the Publick now, when it is known that his Suedish Majesty enter'd Norway only with a Handful of Men, to make a Diversion, and to force the Danes to the Expence of transporting thither a great Number of those Troops, which they might have employed elsewhere with greater Advantage: I say, I thought it too gross an Imposition upon the Publick now, to make Mr. Jackson, who (as an able Minister) could not sail of being informed from the Beginning, of the true Nature and Intent of this Expedition, express in the Name of so Great and so Powerful a Prince

# on Mr. Jackson's Memorial. 315

Prince as the King his Master, and in a formal Memorial too, such an Apprehension of an imaginary Conquest, and its Consequences, as even to use Threatnings, (a Language Princes not eafily speak, nor brook) for to prevent the same.

These were my Thoughts at first; but upon mature Confideration I found this Article as cunningly timed as any of the rest, and as full of Venom. The Case I take to be this: All the World is at prefent very intent upon what the English Fleet is gone to do in the Baltick: The great Expence the Nation has been at these two Years together in fitting out the faid Fleet, and which amounts to above Four Hundred Thousand Pounds, makes every body expect its being fent upon an Errand of the greatest Consequence; and no doubt it is fo. People, even but of common Senfe, cannot think fo many Men of War were intended only to convoy fome Merchant-Ships, affigned to the Ports prohibited by the King of Sueden, (for as to our Ships that went to the other Ports in the Baltick, they wanted no Convoy at all,) and whose whole Cargoes amounted last Year, hardly to more than one hundred thousand Pounds, and will not this Year amount to fo much. The Flags of Great-Britain are not used to show themfelves in the Baltick upon fo mean an Occasion; nor do those, that have a true Notion of our King's and Nation's Generofity, (for Reafons I already mentioned) harbour the least Thoughts of our defigning to force the distressed King of Sueden, perhaps to an unreasonable Satisfaction, for the Lofs of some taken and confifcated Merchant-Ships: Besides that the said Loss, as it hardly can be computed to 140 or 150 thoufand Pounds, would not have deferved the Nation's being put to the above-mentioned great Expence,

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in fitting out a Fleet; especially at a time when we are obliged to be at so many other extraordi-

nary heavy Charges.

Now, whilst we are thus in the dark, as to our present naval Expedition, what does the Memorialist? Why, he infinuates very slily its being chiefly designed for to hinder the Suedes from attempting any thing against Norway and Denmark; and that this may the easier go down with us, he makes Mr. Jackson only upon this Head threaten the King of Sueden with THE MEANS GOD HATH PUTINTO THE KING HIS MASTER'S HANDS: Whereas in the two former Points, relating to our Commerce, the Pretender and the Rebels, (where some Warmth might have been at least more excusable) he uses

Expressions more foft and moderate.

If we were simple enough, or rather so far Enemies to the Government, as to take this Paffage, or indeed any in the whole Memorial, to be genuine; should we not naturally be led into an Enquiry, Why we have all this while, with fo great an Indifference, look'd on the King of Sueden's being unjustly attacked by one Enemy after the other? Why we have in a manner wink'd at the Lofs of half his Kingdom? And why our Fleet was last Year only an idle Spectator of the brave Defence that Prince made at Stralfund? And of his losing those very Provinces in Germany, which we ourselves once thought the Bulwark of the Protestant Interest; and when a threatning Memorial then presented to the Northern Allies, and back'd by our faid Fleet, might fo eafily have faved them? I fay, should we not naturally be led into an Enquiry, Why in all these cases, and when the least thing was to be done in favour of Sueden to prevent its Ruin, (and (and that too according to Treaties) we have pleaded that exact Neutrality, we were refolved to observe in the Northern War; and yet we are now become so forgetful of that same Neutrality, and so tender of the Interest of the Danes, as to threaten, upon the least Advantage the King of Sueden has over them, to use against him THE MEANS GOD HAS PUT INTO OUR KING'S HANDS.

And pray what Reasons does our Memorialist give for this? He tells us first, that our Commerce requires it. How maliciously he banters! Might he not as well have told us, that the Protestant Interest required it? For we shall as certainly preserve and secure that Interest, by ruining the Suedes, (the heartiest and most successful Champions thereof) and by attacking the zealous and truly religious King of Sueden; as we are like to secure our Commerce, by siding with the Enemies of that Nation; by forwarding their Destruction, and thereby giving up the whole Trade in the Baltick to the Muscovites.

Had the Memorialist made Mr. Jackson, in his Royal Master's Name, express himself to this purpose: That his Majesty (out of a tender Concern for his Subjects Trade) could not longer suffer the Continuance of a War, whose natural Consequences were so contrary to it, and that he therefore had sent his Fleet to the Baltick, or was resolved to make use of THOSE MEANS GOD HAS PUT INTO HIS HANDS, to force the Enemies of Sueden to a just Peace; then, (as he had made his Majesty speak like his Royal Ancestors, and use that self-same Way they always thought most effectual and truly honourable for to stop in the Source the Interruption of our Trade, when

when occasion'd by a War in the North,) we should indeed have thought his Memorial as genuine, and as worthy of a Minister to our great King, as we now are convinced of the contrary.

We are, however, extremely obliged to this worthy Gentleman, that fince he was so heartily bent upon blackening the Government, he has yet forbore to enter into some Particulars of our Commerce; and then to pretend in Mr. Jackson's, or rather in his Majesty's Name, that our Want of Naval Stores some time ago was entirely owing to the King of Sueden's hindering all Trade to his own Sea-Ports in the Baltick, that are now in Muscovite Hands; alledging that as one of the Reasons, why his Majesty would make use of THOSE MEANS GOD HAS PUT INTO HIS HANDS, &c.

For my Part, I as much expected to have found fo headless a Story in a Paper of this Nature, as I was furprized last Year to hear Men of Note (nay, well-meaning Men too) maintain the faid Want of Naval Stores to have been the chief Inducement to our fending a ftrong Squadron to the Baltick; and (as they pretended) even against the Suedes. Had these Gentlemen but asked our East-Country Merchants, they would have told them that at least two Parts of three of our Naval Stores (excepting those we have from Sueden and from Norway) always came from Archangel, a Sea-Port in the North-Sea, belonging to the Czar: They would also have told them, that the King of Sueden never went about to hinder our Trade to that Sea-Port; but the Czar intending to make Petersburg his chief Sea-Port and Magazine, ordered his Subjects to carry all their Effects thither, and none to Archangel. And then, how eafily would our grave Politicians have determined,

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determined, whether our Want of Naval Stores ought to have been entirely charged upon the Czar, who took upon him to alter the old Channel of our Trade; (which by the way was but a Prelude to the Dance he is like to lead us, when Sueden's Ruin puts him in a Condition to accomplish his vast Projects) or upon the King of Sueden, who opposed a Novelty entirely destructive to his Kingdom. However, the Czar of Muscovy found that his Defign did not fucceed, because of the King of Sueden's Obstinacy in crossing it, and that thereby all his Effects were like to remainupon his Hands in his new-established Market: Therefore he recalled the above-mentioned Order. and permitted us to fetch Naval Stores from Archangel as before. This he did the very beginning of the last Year. Our Government and our Merchants had, to my certain Knowledge, Notice hereof, long before any Ships could fet out from hence to those Ports; so that there was not that pretended Necessity for us to be at that vast Expence of fending fo many Men of War to the Baltick, to get Naval Stores; which we then (as formerly) could have from Archangel, without the least Hazard and Difficulty, and which we had that very felf-fame Year. For to instance Hemp, the chief Commodity we fetch'd from the North, and which we were faid to have most wanted: Our Ships that went to Archangel only with their usual Convoy of two Men of War, brought home, and entered in the Custom-house here at London, 3925 Tons 9 Hundred Weight of that Commodity: Whereas those that went to Petersburg under the Convoy of a great Squadron, and found there a Market (that through the aforefaid Order of the Czar had been two Years a filling, and confequently was then more than usually 7. 4 itock'd)

stock'd) entered from thence only 1928 Tons and 1500 Weight of that same Commodity.

But to leave this Digression: I say again, that I am astonish'd our Memorialist has so entirely pass'd by this Topick, whilst he was about possessing the Publick with the Notion that our Government made use of all sorts of shallow Pretences for to pick a Quarrel with the King of

Sueden, and to affift his Enemies.

Next to our Commerce, the Memorial names the Prosperity and Peace of these Kingdoms. Here is another Jacobite Touch for you. Mr. Jackson is surely better inform'd of the present Condition his Country is in, than to think our Peace and Prosperity so ill settled, as to be disturbed by any of the King of Sueden's Enterprizes against his Enemies; much less by his entering only a few Miles into Norway. But then, fays the Memorialist, the King of Great-Britain must think his Suedish Majesty's Designs against any of the King of Denmark's Dominions, a Slight upon the most essential Interests of Great-Britain, and therefore he must make use OF THE MEANS GOD HAS PUT INTO HIS HANDS TO BAFFLE THOSE ENTER-PRIZES.

For God's fake how came those most effential Interests to be now so directly opposite to what we took them to be in all Revolutions England has undergone, and to what they were in our great Deliverer King William's Time? Did not this wise Prince, through his whole Reign, look upon the Interest of Sueden as inseparable from that of Great-Britain? Did he not espouse the same vigorously even against the Danes, and that when the present King of Sueden was got, not as now, only upon the Borders of Norway, but to

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the very Heart of Denmark? And at last did not this for ever glorious Monarch, a little before his Death, tie those two Interests still closer together, by a most solemn defensive Treaty, which

to this very Day sublists?

Is it our Religion, our Commerce, our Liberty and Property, that could oblige us to vary from our old Principles, especially under the Government of a Prince, who in every thing follows so closely the glorious Footsteps of King William? No: The King of Sueden's just Designs against his Enemies interfere no more with either of them, than they did in King William's Time. Is it then JUSTICE? No; JUSTICE would prompt us to rescue the unjustly attack'd, and the almost perishing Suedes.

JUSTICE would oblige us to affift our old Friends, a brave *Protestant* Nation, pursuant to our Treaties. JUSTICE would make us remember, that the King of *Sueden* could, when he was in *Saxony* with a great victorious Army, have turn'd the Scales which way he would; and that then he was not partial to our Enemies, as the wicked Memorial pretends we are to his. JUSTICE would tell us that one good Turn de-

ferves another.

Honour will speak the same Language, and also remind us, that if it be base and against the true English Spirit and Generosity, to desert our Friends in their greatest Distresses, it is still more so to fall upon them ourselves, when they are already attack'd, and almost over-powered, by many Enemies at once.

What would the Memorialist then have us believe to be the true Motive of this Tenderness he makes us have for the Danes against the King of

Sueden?

Here

Here lies his Malice: He knows that there is a Notion of the Court of Hanover's having had all along a mind for the Suedish Dutchies of Bremen and Verden; that the faid Court, to induce the Danes to fell and evacuate the first of these Dutchies, which they had unjustly taken from the Suedes, (for as to the last, I mean the Dutchy of Verden, the Suedes themselves had before trusted it, bona fide, to the Guard of the Hanoverians) had declared a War against the King of Sueden; and that it, even by a Treaty, had ingaged itself to make the English Fleet act in favour of the Northern League. He knows that it was reported last Year that the eight Men of War Admiral Norris left in the Baltick (after the Seafon for our Trade there was quite over, and that there were no more English Merchant-Ships to protect) actually joined the Danish Fleet; there being not only a Line of Battle handed about (according to which the faid *English* Ships, upon occasion, were to have fought the Suedes, in Conjunction with the Danes, and under the Command of a Danish Admiral) but also confidently reported that four of our Captains (whatever was pretended) had their Ships taken from them when they came home, only for having defired Captain Hopfon (who commanded the faid eight Ships) to shew his Orders in Writing, or to give fuch himfelt to the faid Captains, for their acting thus in Concert with the Danes against the Suedes, without a War being previously declared against Great-Britain and them.

All these Stories the Jacobite Faction have been busy to spread, in order most maliciously to insufe into the Minds of his Majesty's faithful Subjects the Notion, as if he would so far make a Breach in the Act of Succession, (the very Act

that happily fet the Crown on his Head) as to increase his Dominions in Germany at the Expence of the British Blood and Treasure, by involving these Nations in foreign Quarrels. And this very Notion, fo injurious to his present Maiefty, and striking at the very Foundation of our present happy Establishment, is what the Memorialist would still more and more inculcate.

I take this to be his chief Aim, and no doubt but he has thought his Majefty's Absence the fittest Time to alienate the Minds of his Majesty's faithful Subjects: By publishing this Memorial, and by making a publick Minister therein advance, in his Majesty's Name, Things which he knew the meanest Capacity would immediately find out to be contrary to all religious as well as worldly Concerns of Great-Britain, and directly opposite to JUSTICE, Honour, and the usual Generofity of our Nation. If Forgeries of leffer Nature are feverely punished, fure this, intended for fo wicked a Purpose, and which may be attended by very bad Confequences, will not pass

unpunished.

My just Indignation against this malicious Incendiary has made my Remarks more prolix than I at first designed them; I shall therefore take no further notice of the last Point in his pretended Memorial, than to fay it is like the reft. It mentions indeed the good Understanding that has so long subsisted between the two Crowns of Great-Britain and Sueden, and the Friendship so necesfary between the Protestant Princes; but 'tis only to make the Nation the more abhor those very Measures it pretends his Majesty is taking, and which every body foresees entirely must destroy both the one and the other. It makes also our great King, at the Head of a Nation (who not long

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long ago gave Laws to the greatest Princes in Europe, and whose Fleet is now at hand to curb all the Enemies of Sueden) so far mistrust his own Power, in respect to the Northern War, as to cautiously limit his Promises of procuring the King of Sueden a good Peace, by the present unhappy Conjuncture of his Suedish Majesty's Asfairs; which is just as much as to promise nothing at all. But let the Memorialist take this from me, that a King of Great-Britain, and his Ministers in his Name, speak in another way; and that his Treaties, the Protestant Interest, that of his good Subjects, together with Honour, JUSTICE, and Generosity, are the only Bounds he sets to his Promises, and to their Performance.



OBSERVATIONS on Count Gyllenborg's Remarks upon Mr. Jackson's Memorial.

HIS Pamphlet having been industriously dispersed in Penny-Post Letters, handed about by People of Figure, and reprefented as unanswerable, I was easily induced to read it, and afterwards waited some time to see whether any one better instructed, of greater Experience and Leifure, or nearer to the Source of Affairs, would publish any thing to undeceive fuch Persons as it might impose upon: But no body, that I know of, taking any notice of it, or endeavouring hitherto to answer so virulent a Paper, written with all the Artifice imaginable, and which gained Credit every Day, both with the well-intentioned and disaffected Part of the Nation, I thought it worth while to take it under Consideration; and hope this Attempt to state the Cafe fairly, and fet Matters in a true Light, will at least be excused, if not commended, by all Lovers of Justice.

In pursuit of this Project, it will be hardly possible to forbear speaking sometimes of a crown'd Head in Terms which will seem harsh or indecent: 'Tis what every Person, who pretends to the least Degree of good Manners, ought to avoid, as much as is consistent with his Argument; and it is more rude and malicious to do this by way of Banter, as the Author of the Remarks (by supposing the Memorial not genuine) has all along done, than by speaking plain English.

But the Regard which ought to be had to Truth, must overbalance all other Considerations; for it is better never to set about such a Piece of Work as this, than to lose the Weight of the Arguments through an over-nice Scrupulousness

in point of good Manners.

I am not so ill skill'd in Performances of this Nature, as to be ignorant that no Suede, of himself, is capable of writing such an English Paper; for it is done with more malicious Skill than any Person born under Northern Slavery can contrive and accomplish. The Materials and Hints which were \* furnish'd by have been improved by some inveterate evil Subject of his Majesty, who has adapted them to the present ill Temper of our

People very artfully.

One thing which convinces me that some traitorous Englishman has a deeper hand in this than any Foreigner, is, that it more sully answers the Design of such a Person: For in relation to the Suedish Assairs, these Remarks are as unseasonable and impolitick, as they are salse and malicious: To irritate his Majesty when there was more than a Probability that he was forecasting some great Thing in Relief of a Prince distressed purely by his own ill Management, when a powerful English Squadron was actually in the Baltick, which at an Hour's Warning might act either for or against the Interest of the King of Sueden, was very ill timed.

One of the original Defigns of the Remarker being to deceive, you must not wonder at the

In one of Count Gyllenborg's intercepted Letters, dated 29 Sept. 1716, that Count boats to Baron Goertz, that be bimself was the Author of the English Merchant's Remarks, and that never any Paper met with a more general Approbation. In the same Letter he says, The Intimations which have been made me, terminate in bringing in the Pretender.--- Ten thousand Men transported bither from Sueden would do the Business, and I believe we shall not be at a Loss for Money.

many false Infinuations stuffed into the very first short introductory Paragraph of his Libel.

"He is very much furpriz'd (forfooth) to find, in the Post-Boy of the 19th of July last, a Me"morial supposed to have been presented by the Resident of Great-Britain to the Chancery of Sueden." No doubt he best can tell how, and for what Reasons, Mr. Jackson's Memorial came to be put into the Post-Boy; 'tis ten to one that the Person who caused that Memorial to be inserted in that Paper, is a very near Acquaintance of the English Merchant's who makes the Remarks.

However, thus far I agree with him, (which he will not thank me much for) that the Paper call'd the Post-Boy (as well that of the 19th of July last, as all the other bearing that Title) is in general a scandalous Jacobite Paper; and People have wondered that it has not been suppress'd long ago: No doubt but there are Reasons for it, and some stronger than a bare Unwillingness to violate the

Liberty of the Press.

"A Memorial supposed to have been presented to the Chancery of Sueden by the Resident of " Great-Britain, &c." This notorious Piece of Prevarication, which runs throughout the Remarker's whole Pamphlet, was, as he supposed, neceffary for his Safety in case he was found out. This way of Writing is called giving a fine Turn to But why did he not print Mr. Fackson's Scandal. supposed Memorial entirely, that the Reader might be at liberty to compare the Paragraphs he has picked out of it with the rest? It was no long Piece; and whatever he pretends, he knew it was a real, not a supposititious one; publickly delivered, and could be justified, and therefore I have \* reprinted it. But at this rate Acts of Parliament,

<sup>&</sup>quot;It is prefixed to these Observations, together with the English Merchant's Remarks upon it, intire.

liament, Proclamations of King or Council, &c., may first be supposed not to be genuine, and afterwards vilified by any petulant Libeller, and treated after the manner the Remarker has done this Memorial.

If the Writer had had the least Doubt upon him, one Question asked of any under Clerk at the Secretary's Office would have resolved him.

The Remarker fays, " It has not been usual to " publish any Acts of this Nature, excepting " only where the Minds of the People are to be " prepared for an impending War." This Affertion he knows to be fo false, that nothing is more usual than printing the Memorials of publick Ministers in the News-Papers. Here is further a malicious Infinuation, that his Majesty was seeking an Occasion for an unjust War, and therefore that it was necessary to prepare the Minds of the People for it: For thus he goes on: "That it is " impossible his Majesty can have any Design to invade the King of Sueden, whom by the " ftricteft and most solemn Treaties he is obliged " to defend." Here the English Merchant quits his Character, and impudently determines the Point before he has argued it; That if his Majefly defigns to invade Sueden, he is a Breaker of the most folemn Treaties.

This he represents as so horrid a Crime, that he will suppose it an Impossibility. He takes it for granted that the King of Sueden has religiously observed his Part of all Treaties made with us; and that either he has not interrupted and destroyed our Trade in a piratical way, or that he has a Right so to do; the contrary to both which we shall prove, when we come to examine the Treaties and his Practice: Nay surther, we shall prove that his Majesty, notwithstanding the

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Non-performance on the King of Sueden's Part, and all the Provocations since, has done all that justly lay in his Power (and more than could be expected) to save him; which the King of Sueden's revengeful haughty Spirit (joined to Views which would have proved, if they had been brought to Effect, pernicious to Christendom) would not permit him to accept of.

But the Remarker goes on: "Whose Destru-"Etion (meaning the King of Sueden's) must certainly be attended by the Ruin of the Protestant Interest in general, which has cost

" England so many Lives and Millions."

Throughout this whole Pamphlet care is taken always to confound the King of Sueden with the Suedish Nation. The Remarker will not suppose it possible to do good, or wish well to the People of Sueden, without our abetting their King in all

his unreasonable and destructive Projects.

But if we are to believe that whole Nation, whether it be the Body of the Senate, the poor oppressed People, or the Merchants of Gottenburg and Stockholm, the quite contrary is apparent. If they want the Power or the Courage to concur in Methods for their own Preservation, they must take what will necessarily follow: 'Tis to such the Saying is most properly applicable, Delirant reges plectuntur Achivi; and therefore the Remarker's Affertion is false in Fact. Indeed if he had only averr'd, "That the Destruction of the Protestant " Interest in Sueden" would have had that evil Consequence, his Proposition had been plausible, though not strictly true. But his Position, "That " the Destruction of the present King of Sueden " must necessarily cause the Ruin of the whole Pro-" testant Interest," can never be maintained. wish the poor Protestant Subjects (whereof near Aa oneone half have been destroyed since his Accession to the Crown) have not reason to think the very reverse of this. I know of no Man who does not wish his resuming a right Mind, rather than his Destruction: But if that cannot be compassed, would not the placing another Protestant Prince in his room, (a Method familiar with him) leave the Protestant Religion in the same State it now is, if not put it in a better? Are not those Dominions which he has lost in Germany in Protestant Hands? Could he still be safely trusted with them? Would the introducing Mabometanism instead of Christianity promote the Protestant Religion in general? If this be the Remarker's Opi-

nion, I have no more to fay.

He would have us think that he is very much concerned for the Protestant Religion, and for those many Lives and Millions that Cause bath cost England: But this emphatical Expression is only an Appeal to his Friends the Mob; the wifer and richer Sort among us know who they were, that, by an ill-timed and worfe-concerted Peace, almost flung away fo many Lives and Millions, which had been expended for the Protestant Interest in general, as well as for the Cause of publick Liberty; at a time when the King of Sueden (in-Itead of contributing what he was then able, and obliged by the Constitution of the Empire, and by Treaties, to do,) had like to have overthrown all that had been done by other Princes; though the Infamy of accomplishing it was referved for Traitors (as yet unpunished) at home. But pray how comes it to pass, that unless the King of Sueden be indulged in all his obstinate Courses, and an open Piracy upon our Merchants in particular, these Lives and Millions are absolutely thrown away?

The Remarker ends this remarkable Paragraph with these Words: " I could not but immediately " conclude this Paper (meaning the Memorial) was spurious, and invented to alienate the Minds " of his Majesty's good Subjects." The first Part of this Sentence he knows to be false; and the second Part is inciting a Rebellion against his Majefty, by downright telling his good Subjects, that if that Paper or Memorial were a true one, (as he and all the People of England knew it was) then there was a fufficient Ground in it for alienating " the Minds of his Majesty's good Subjects; " and as fuch (he fays) be has endeavoured to expose " it."-I hope I have made it plain that this first Paragraph, which is defigned as the Foundation for the Superstructure which follows, contains as many Untruths in it as Lines, and therefore required a more than ordinary Explication. what I am going to fay (with greater Brevity) in answer to all his Arguments and Objections, will clear all Doubts which may remain in the Reader. But first I must observe,

That the Remarker having already taken the Liberty to suppose this Memorial spurious, thinks he has equal Right to do the like with any Paper he pleases to vilify; and therefore he treats three other Memorials, deliver'd the Year before by Mr. Jeffreys, Mr. Jackson, and Admiral Norris, in the very same Manner, supposing them all spurious; and then tells the World, "That the "King of Sueden would have been so far from de-"ferving Blame for not answering them, that his "Silence is the greatest Proof of his Moderation and "Patience that could be given; since what our "Ministers did, was only to provoke that glorious "Prince's noble and undaunted Spirit to some vio-

nt Step, in order for us to get a fair Pretence

" to destroy Sueden, which we were positively re-" folved on, to bring about some new Scheme of set-" tling Matters in Europe." If this be not the highest Calumny, or worse, I understand nothing. Our great Men at the Helm (which the Remarker ought also to suppose not to be of his Majesty's placing there, that he may with the greater Licentiousness abuse both him and them) would do well, if they could light on him, to clear his Understanding, and teach him how to suppose a little more justly.

I fcarce know what greater Indignity could well be offer'd by one Prince to another, in the Person of his Minister, than to return a scornful Silence in a Case of so great Importance, as the Matter of all these Memorials. " As to our unge-

" nerous Behaviour and Alteration of our Language " in these Memorials, from those polite Expressions of

" the Duke of Marlborough in his Harangue to the " the King of Sueden when he stood victorious in

" Saxony, (as the Remarker phrases it) which so

" vexed and shamed, and brought the utmost Grief " upon this English Merchant;" we shall prefently have an Opportunity of vindicating that Duke, whom I have heard more than once grievously reflected on by the English Partizans of Sueden, for diverting that Storm impending over the Allies, and transferring it into Muscovy. must confess a rare Jacobite Scheme was broken at that Time, which cannot be forgiven to this Day. We shall weigh duly the King of Sueden's Merit, not only as to that Action, but as to others, and try whether no ungenerous Behaviour and Alteration in his Language might have given Occasion for what so deeply grieves this English Merchant, who (if he had, as he fays, at that Time " considerable Dealings with the Suedes") should

should be better informed, than it seems he is, how he and all other English Merchants were then used in Sueden, and how our King and his Allies have been used since.

His first Affertion is, "That the Prohibitions " made by the King of Sueden with respect to " Trade, extend only to fuch of his own Ports " as have been lately taken from him, and have " been (almost all along) block'd up by his " Men of War: Also that we carried contraband "Goods to the Enemies of Sueden, contrary to " the express Words of the Treaty," &c. So far of this is true, that his Probibitions at first extended only to fuch Ports as were taken from him (to fpeak of their being all along block'd up by his Men of War, is a Jest). But his Practice has been fo far otherwise, that these two last Years, by fubsequent Regulations (as he calls them) he made them extend to all Ports belonging to any of his Enemies; and his Prohibitions given in Writing were to this Effect, without any Regard to legal Trials, as by virtue of Treaties, as well as by the Law of Nations, we ought to have had. And not only fo, but his Ships have taken, and his Admiralty-Courts have confiscated our Ships trading even to and from his own Ports now in his Poffession.

But supposing this first Position were strictly true, as on the contrary it is a notorious Piece of Prevarication, I would fain know what Time after Conquest of any Country, Traffick is to commence to it. Is there any Term fix'd, either by Laws or common Custom of Nations, within which it is not to be exercised? I have been told, and it seems agreeable to Reason, that while any City or Port is actually besieged or invested, no neutral Prince or State has a Right to send in

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Ships to relieve it: Or if they do, at their own Peril be it: Sometimes the Attacker buys the Cargo at an equal Price; fometimes he confiscates it (if done in manifest Breach of Treaties, and the Goods prove to be Materials for War); fometimes he dismisses the Ships, and contents himself with hindring their entring into Port, and his Enemies from profiting by them. But this is not the Case either with Revel, Narva, or the Ports in Livonia; the Suede conquered them himself at first, and has lost them these several Years, and is forced to fit down with the Loss: He does not keep up his Claim by a continual Siege or Blockade, as the Moors do at Ceuta; he is now struggling to preferve Sueden itself: So far is he from contesting the Point, in relation to those Ports and Countries he now keeps us from trafficking with, or indeed being able to do it, that he has not fo much as one Garifon, or any Party that dare own him there: They have all renounced their Allegiance to him long ago, because he could not afford them his Protection (for these two are always reciprocal) and have taken the Oath of Fidelity to another Prince: He has not the least Probability of reconquering them. How long then must we be debarr'd trading with them? and for fuch Necessaries as we possibly cannot subfift without? Must the Prohibition be indefinite? and must we forbear for ever to traffick with a good Ally, and both difoblige him, and undo ourselves, for the sake of a Prince visibly an Enemy to our Interest, when we have the Power to support that Trade, and this too without Breach of Treaties on our Parts?

And as to contraband Goods, the World is not to be imposed on by the Remarker, as if we carried nothing to Muscovy but contraband Goods:

That

That is a Fallacy he continues all along in his Pamphlet, in order to justify the Kirg of Sueden's Proceedings. It is allowed to be contrary to our Treaties to furnish the Enemies of Sueden with such Goods; and no Complaint has or would have been made for any Confiscations of that Kind. If any English Merchant has done so, or did get Passes by Perjury, this, if proved, (which it is not) reslects on particular Persons only, but ought not to be alledged against a whole Nation.

We should not complain, I say, if the Suedes only hinder'd our Merchants, upon the Penalties in Treaties mentioned, from furnishing their Enemies with Materials of War, fuch as are particularly enumerated in those Treaties. Our outwardbound Trade is fo far from confifting of fuch Materials, that we are forced to fetch them home (especially Naval Stores) from others: And the Suedes have, on the other hand, hinder'd us from getting fuch Materials for our own proper Use. But what we complain of is, That the Suedish Privateers perfift in feizing all our Ships, without Distinction, that they can meet with; not only in the Baltick, but in the Ocean, returning home from Archangel, (the very Port which the Remarker avers is fo free for us) without regard to their Lading, or to what Port they are bound to and from; nay, though going to, and returning from Sueden, and laden with Suedish Iron and other Commodities, for which they receive our Ready Money. If Infults and Acts of Hostility of this Nature are fit to be endured by a trading People, and at the fame Time by a Nation able to vindicate itself, let all the World judge: And whether a due Resentment of such Usage can be construed " a wrongful engaging the English Nation in a War wherein it is not effentially con-" cern'd? Aa4

" cern'd," as the malicious Remarker would fug-

gest.

The Articles of the Treaty of 1661, which is the only one I know of that we have with Sueden, and has been renewed and confirmed from time to time, specifies what are contraband Goods; and they are all Materials for War. 'Tis the 11th Article, the Beginning whereof I shall insert here, that People may fee with what Justice the King of Sueden makes use of all the Means in his Power to obstruct, not only contraband Goods, but all our Traffick; which the Remarker tells us the Necesfity of his Majesty's Affairs required.

Article 11th. "Quamvis superioribus Arti-" culis, &c. Altho', in and by the above Articles,

"tis agreed that neither of the Confederates shall " afford Help or Affistance to the Enemy of the other;

" nevertheless this is not so to be understood, as if (in

" any Manner) the Commerce and Navigation of

that Party, and his Subjects, who is not engaged

" in War, should be deny'd or hinder'd with the

" Enemies of that Confederate who is engaged in "War: But Care must be taken that no contraband

"Goods [here they are enumerated] should be car-

" ried to the Enemy, upon Pain (if they be taken)

" of becoming lawful Prize, without Hopes of Re-

" Stitution, &c. But it shall be lawful for either of

" the Confederates, and his Subjects, to have Com-

" merce, and to carry all Sort of Merchandize

" (except above excepted) to the Enemy of the other,

" without any Manner of Impediment, unless to

" Ports and Places actually besieged. And if this

" should happen, it shall be lawful for the Owners

" or Masters of those Ships, either to sell their Goods

to the Besiegers, or to sail with them to some other

" Port not besieged, freely, and at their own Choice.

And this Liberty of Navigation and Commerce is, cc in

in the 16th Article, declared to be the very Foundation and original Ground of this League."

Among the contraband Goods are reckoned And altho' I heartily wish no Occasion Ships. had been given to have brought this under Debate, yet there is a vast deal of Difference between Ships bought at London by Muscovite Merchants, navigated from thence at the Czar's or at their private Expence, and fuch as are carried thither by English at their Charge and Hazard. The Port of London is a Place where any Prince or State may buy Ships if they please; the Suedes themselves might have done it, had they wanted them; and no doubt their Merchants have bought and fent from thence to the Suedish Ports, many necessary Utenfils of War, which neither the Danes nor Muscovites thought they had any Reafon to complain of. Our Market at home is open to all the World. The like may be faid as to Officers and Sailers hired here by the Muscovite or his Agents; these Ships, and their Crews in the Czar's Pay, fail as Russians, not as English. We had no Right to enquire to what Ports they were Can it be pretended that our Merchants must not sell even military Stores in London, to any of the Nations in War with the King of Sueden, if he orders Matters so as to be at War with half the World? No, sure. We see the French (as great Friends as they are to Sueden) never fcrupled to fend Officers and Engineers to the Muscovites; and the Regent never thought there lay any Obligation upon him to prohibit it: 'Tis true a great many of these were intercepted lately (and it may be had a mind to be so after they had taken his Money) in their Journey towards the Czar, and were fent back by the Suedes to France, without any Complaint on the King of Sueden's Part of the Injustice of the French Proceedings, that ever we heard of. So might these Ships and Officers have been too, if they could have catch'd them.

But supposing that the English Merchants had fent these Ships, as their own Goods, to find a Market for them at Petersburgh, the Penalty is, if they be taken, they become lawful Prize, without Hopes of Restitution. These are the Words in the fore-mentioned Article of the Treaty; and this is the Risque which such Merchants are willing to run; and they justly deserve whatever ill Consequences may sollow: No body complains of it.

But the Remarker cannot fo much as infinuate that his Majesty, or his Ministry, had any hand in this Matter; and therefore makes a very unequal Parallel between this Proceeding of the Merchants, and the harbouring of open Rebels and Traitors, and giving Encouragement or Protection to them. The one is the Fact of private Men for Gain, and upon a Penalty which they are willing to run the Hazard of, and draws into no further Confequences which interess the Prince: The other is an Act of fovereign Power immediately, for the doing of which there is no Penalty prescribed in the Treaty, nor can be. And the natural Consequences of doing it, can be construed to be no other than a Disaffection to that King and his Cause, whose Rebels are pro-The Prospect of Gain has no Place here, which is a fort of Excuse for those who make their Livelihood of Traffick;) so that this is an open Breach of the Treaty that nothing can be faid for, and even amounts almost to being a declared Enemy.

The

The Remarker's second Assertion is, "That England seiz'd upon all the Suedish Ships she could, trading to France in the two last Wars; and therefore that every individual Point of the King of Sueden's Regulations is but too sufficiently warranted by the Precedents our Privateers and our Judges made then themselves. In short, that the Case of Sueden, in relation to the Interruption

" of Traffick, is the same now that ours was in the two last Wars against France: And this he boldly

" undertakes to convince the Publick of in a second

" Pampblet."

I hope, when it comes out, it will appear to be written with more Candor than his first: But, in the mean time, I will make bold to refute what he here gives us in gross, by shewing the Difference between the Proceedings of both Nations, as well as the Grounds of those Proceedings: For this being his principal Argument, upon which the whole Stress of his Pamphlet lies, if I can be so lucky as to enervate it, I think I have done his Business, and he may spare himself the Labour of a second Part.

By the way, I do not like the Precedents he would have us govern ourselves by, either in declaring War, or seizing of Ships; neither will he himself, upon second Thoughts, approve of them much. If we should now send a small Yacht into a Navy Royal on purpose to affront an Enemy, he might justly say, "We were pick-" ing a Quarrel, and seeking an Occasion thus to provoke him to some violent Step or other, thereby to get a fair Pretence for declaring openly against bim, and so effectually undoing him." Or is, without the Formality of making any sham Quarrel, previous Complaint, or declaring War, we should send out our Squadrons to seize on Fleets

of Merchant-Ships returning laden home, suppose either from Smyrna or the Indies, he would have just Cause to cry out upon us: And we will allow "fuch fort of Proceedings would not be by far grounded on so urgent a Necessity, nor on the same Reasons as these of the King of Sueden."

I fay then, that the Wars lately undertaken by England against France, were acknowledged to be for the common Cause of Europe in general; to prevent Slavery, and an universal Monarchy, fo apparently aim'd at, and fo near being attain'd, that nothing but a League of all the other Powers of Christendom could hope to withstand it. and that even with the utmost Difficulty. was concerted and agreed to by all the Princes of the Empire; and Sueden itself (as such) was engaged in the common Quarrel: His Hopes (notwithstanding his Friendship with France) could only be to be last devoured. Sueden then, being a Party in those Wars, had no Right to affift the common Enemy, no nor fo much as to be Neutral. The Maritime Powers had confequently as lawful a Ground to obstruct a Traffick useful to France from Sueden, as they had to hinder any of their own Merchants from trafficking thither.

But I say farther, that notwithstanding this general Obligation, Sueden at that Time traded with its own Ships, and from its own Ports, to France, only in contraband Goods. 'Tis well known that all the Commodities of Sueden are such; viz. Naval Stores of all Kinds, Masts, Ship-Timber, Hemp, Pitch, Tar, Iron, Cannon and Mortars, and such like: And not content with this, sold his Passes to the Ships of France, and of other Nations (who sailed with Suedish Colours); and these for the most part were those who traded with France with Goods

not

not of Contraband, and had not the least Pretence to trade thither at all, being not only Lubeckers, Hamburghers, Dantzickers, and fuch like, but even English and Dutch, who could pay well for their Passes, and never valued what became of their Country fo they might make an unjust Gain. Both these Sorts, upon their Return from France, shelter'd French Effects in their Bottoms to all Parts of the World; as well configned to those in open War with France, as others, and (as much as in them lay) hinder'd our Men of War and Privateers from making Prize of them. Injuffice and ill Confequence of which was fo notorious, that we were constrain'd to put a Stop to these Practices, by giving Orders to our Ships to feize them, and examine their Lading, and the Validity of their Paffports; four Parts of five of which were found to be false or collusive. And altho' (for the Reason above-mentioned) we had good Grounds for doing it, we never pretended by Virtue of Treaties, or on any other account, to hinder all Trade of the Suedes to France, as the Remarker avers; we only prohibited contraband collusive Trade, French Effects convey'd in Suedift Vessels, French Ships and others from being protected by Suedish Passports. To prevent these Frauds, it was agreed that Suedish Ships should be furnished with certain Passports and Certificates: If for want of these, or upon other Reasons, many of their Ships were brought up and condemned (and fome perhaps wrongfully) it must have been when they had not proper Proofs to make their Cause (how just soever it might be in itself) sufficiently clear. But let that be as it will. Some of our Privateers may have done amis; some Decisions in Doctors-Commons may have been wrong; yet this we may fay, their Ships were commonly

commonly released again, though put to some Charges extraordinary: And upon the whole one might venture to affirm, that many more were released, which ought to have been condemned; than condemned, which ought to have been released. And further we can affert, "That no pub-" lick Order or Regulation of our Government ever " authoriz'd the taking all Suedish Ships, purely " for trading to France," much less the seizing of all Suedish Ships whithersoever bound. And here is a second essential Difference between our Proceedings then, and those of the King of Sueden at

this Day.

Many Proofs might be given of their collusive Dealings in Trade with France during our late Wars; Wars wherein they themselves were, or ought to have been, concerned: But so far were the Suedes from contributing to a happy End of them, that in the Year 1709, after the hard Winter, when ever body knew that France was in the greatest want of Corn, and we had Reason to hope by that Means to reduce it to Terms of a good Peace; and thereupon fent to defire the Court of Sueden to forbid their Merchants carrying Corn to France, as an Act of Friendship neceffary for the happy Conclusion of a War, in which the general Interest of Europe, as well as of the Protestant Religion, was concern'd; nay, tho' we were willing they should carry their Corn to France, provided they did it to fuch Ports as were distant from the Seat of War; yet we could never induce them to comply with us: After which indeed we threaten'd to make use of Force, but all was to no Purpose when Gain was in view.

So that the Remarker's Affertion, "That every individual Point of the late Suedish Regulation is sufficiently warranted by the Precedents our

" Privateers

is entirely false. He takes the Liberty to affert Facts which cannot be canvassed; but let any Man compare that Regulation with our Regulation or Instruction for our Privateers, which was the Law that was to guide both our Judges and our Ships of War, and he will see how widely

they differ.

I think I have fully refuted his fecond Affertion, which indeed (if it were true) would be an Argument of Importance; at least till those Proofs appear in his promifed fecond Part, which are fo fully to convince the Publick. So I go on to aniwer his hard Question, viz. "What would the " English bave done, bad France or Holland, in " their Wars with us, made themselves Masters of " Ireland and Scotland; and the Suedes, under " Pretence of Freedom of Commerce, bad infifted " upon trading with our Enemies, thereby helping " them to gain great Riches, and to strengthen " themselves in the Possession of their Conquests?" I fay then, in that Case, (according to the Article of the Treaty, which I have already quoted) that the English would have done all that lay in their Power to hinder the Suedes from carrying (at all) thither any contraband Goods or Materials of War, or any other fort of Relief to a befieged or block'd-up Town: And if we had taken their Ships with unlawful Goods, we would have confiscated them without Hopes of Restitution: And in the Case of lawful Goods sent to a besieged Town, we would either have bought the Cargo, or suffer'd them to have failed away to some other Port: We should further have stopp'd all our Enemies Ships failing with Suedish Colours, or Suedish Passports, or our Enemies Effects in Suedift Ships: All this we should have done by virtue of Treaties. Had the the Suedes done no more than this, Mr. Jeffreys and Mr. Jackson would never have troubled the Chancery with their Memorials, nor should we ever have been at the Charges of sending such a strong Squadron into the Baltick. Mr. Jackson's Memorial complains of otherguise Dealings than these, and desires no more than that Matters may be carried on upon the Foot of the Treaties. To prevent the World from knowing this, the Remarker would not print it, though upon such an Occasion it was natural, and almost necessary to do so.

But I will venture a little farther, and fay, That if one of those Countries had been conquered absolutely from us, without rational Hopes of Relief or regaining, we had been unjust to have denied such Commerce to it, as we would have allowed to be carried on to any other Country of our Enemy which had not been gained from us: For as to Materials of War, I suppose they would be

equally denied to either.

Length of Time confirms a Possession in the Conquerer, especially when there is no Party left in the conquered Countries for the ancient Master of them; and when they are entirely loft, no Ally is obliged by any Treaty to make War in order to regain them for the first Possessor, as the Remarker would have had us to do for Sueden, and to have made that use of our strong Squadrons in the Baltick these two last Summers. To prove this I shall quote no less a Man than Puffendorf, a Suede, and the wifest they have had among them these hundred Years: His Words, in his Book de Jure Naturæ & Gentium, cap. xii. lib. 5. §. 13. towards the End of it, are these, " Fædus quod ini-" tum est pro defensione ditionis, Domino in possessio-" nem existente, non extenditur ad eandem recupe-

" randam

" randam postquam iste fuerit ejectus; i.e. A " League that is made for the Defence of a Princi-

of pality, whilft the Lord is in Possession of it, does

" not extend to recover the same after that he has lost

46 it "

But the Case would have been still harder, had we denied the Suedes a Traffick, not forbidden by Treaties, with those Countries which we had irrecoverably loft, if the Suedes could not possibly subsist without that Traffick, nor have those Goods, which they absolutely wanted, from any other Potentate but him who had conquered those Countries from us. This was our Case in respect to Muscovy and Naval Stores; and this Trade it is principally which the obstinate and impotent Efforts of a certain Prince is bent to drive us from; and from all other Trade too, if we would let him, as the English Merchant advises us to do.

But fays the Remarker, "The King of Sueden " has a Demand upon England to this very Day of " several bundred thousand Pounds for Damages, " upon account of Ships unjustly detained or confisca-" ted, and therefore advises us to let him thus pay " bimself by Reprisals." Answ. I do not like that Method of Payment; I am taught by Experience to be afraid of letting the King of Sueden be his own Carver. I agree that 'tis fitting he should be paid all just Debts and Demands, after they are stated and liquidated; I only do not agree with the Remarker in the Way taken for it; because then our poor Merchants (who owe nothing) would be forced to pay a Debt due from the Crown. The paltry Sum, as he calls it, of 690241. taken last Year, is a great Sum in the Merchants Pockets, and I doubt in some Princes too, who else would not take this strange and indirect Way to get it. If (as the Remarker affures us) "His " Generofity  $\mathbf{B}$  b

"Generofity does so far exceed his Majesty's, and " that of the whole British Nation," it must be a great Extremity indeed that must push a Prince of fuch transcendent Generosity to do an Act to get Money, which cannot be approved by any rational Man living; nay, not even by his own Senate, his Merchants, or his Cities (as intereffed and as fearful of him as they are). Can we give more Credit to any of our News-Papers, than this English Merchant does to his Friend the Post-Boy? If fo, then the Remonstrances of his Senators and Generals, of the Merchants of Stockholm. nay, and the Town of Gottenburg (which gets most by his Prizes) ought to be of some Weight and Confideration with him and us: But of this fomething shall be faid farther, after I have got well rid of these two weighty Paragraphs of the Remarker.

There was a Time (fays he:) Ay, there was a Time: How came that Time to be fo unfortunately loft? The Remarker, and several other of his Friends, have almost broke their Hearts for it, because such another Time is not likely to come again. Well; "But there was a Time when " the Kings of Sueden, especially his present Ma-" jesty, had Opportunities enough to oblige us [the " English] to give Satisfaction: There was a Time " when a threatning Memorial, and a strong Squa-" dron of Men of War sent to the Assistance of the " French, would most effectually bave opened our " Purse-strings, as well as made us desist from seiz-" ing on any more Ships: But the King of Sueden " scorn'd to take any Advantage of us, and observ'd " at least the strictest Neutrality between Us and the " French."

This is a rare Argument in an English Merchant's Mouth, when our Ships are every Day a feizing:

feizing: But I can acquaint this Remarker, that the King of Sueden's not taking any Advantage of us, is not fo much owing to his Magnanimity, as to his want of Power, at a Time when his Hands were full elsewhere. Indeed the threatning Memorial might have come, but not being accompanied by the other, would hardly have been effectual: A just Debt would sooner have been obtained from us by a milder Way. And I very much doubt whether if the strong Squadron had come along with the Memorial, it would have been as inactive against us, as ours has been for two Years together against Sueden in the Baltick. I do not find that we have forced the least Satisfaction from a Prince, whose Spirit increases as his Power diminishes, and who thinks himself a Match for five or fix Enemies at once.

But I must further tell him, That if the King of Sueden had made use of that blessed Time, in the manner this honest English Merchant would have had him, he had done very unjustly; he had diffressed an Ally who was then fighting for the common Caufe of Europe, even his Caufe; he had acted traiterously against the Emperor's Interest, who was principally engaged in that Quarrel; he had acted impolitickly and dangeroufly for himself; it had been a declaring open War; and how he could have carried it on under the Circumstances he was in, was a great Question. All these Reasons are much better and stronger than that Scorn which the Remarker affigns as the only Reason for his sparing us; when he might as well have told us at once, That the King of Sueden wanted Money to fet to Sea that strong Squadron that was to have humbled us into a Payment.

To

To tell the Truth, this King of Sueden's Predecessor was of a different Temper from his Son, and perhaps scorned Actions (or never thought of of them) which the present King does not scorn. I verily believe he never had any underhand Treaties with the Turk, but rather would have helped the Emperor against him; and therefore the Merits of the late King ought not to be brought in

Argument to justify what is done by this.

But I cannot imagine how a Man fo artful as our Remarker should be so far overseen as to fpeak of Bullying; a Character fo distant from our King, and fo properly applicable to another, that upon hearing the Word, one cannot forbear thinking of one who, whenever he had Power in his Hands, or thought he had it, never fail'd to make use of it; whose kingly long Arm once stretch'd as far as Count Zobor's Ears at Vienna, and afterwards made him ask Pardon for taking a Blow: One who has bullied the *Emperor*, the King of Poland, and others he has had to deal with; and taught his publick Ministers to follow in this his Example, and shown them that they cannot please him better than when they do fo; that he values them on those Occasions more upon the Activity of their Hands, and Acuteness of their Swords, than of their Wits and Parts: One who, in Purfuit of his Vengeance, deposed one King (our Ally in the War against France) making him formally renounce his Kingdom, and fet up another (one in French Interest) in his stead; maintain'd a great Army upon the Territories of the Empire, almost to the utter Destruction of the finest Electorate in it; and was going he himself knew not whither for a long time, but at last was obstinately bent to depose the Czar of Muscovy, when he received that notable Defeat at Pultowa, which broke

broke all his Measures, though it did not bring down his Stomach. Has he, and only he, a Right to offer Indignities and commit Violences? What can any one impute the cruel Treatment of Monsieur Patkul to, (whom, tho' not his Subject, and earnestly seeking to be restored to Favour, he broke alive upon the Wheel) but to a haughty Impatience of being thwarted in any thing, or by any Person, whether a Prince, or of inserior Quality. So that, with the Remarker's Leave, he might nave spared that unmannerly Word Bully, which now forces a just Retortion, that otherwise might have been spared.

To bully is properly to make a Noise, and to hector without true Courage; but because I hope the Remarker does not make use of the Word in that worst Sense (though in one bad enough) I

have forborn to do fo likewife.

As to the Number of the King of Sueden's Enemies, which we, it feems, have augmented, I know not whether the Remarker has reckoned right or not: Thus much is plain, The King of Sueden does industriously make and continue all thefe his Enemies; he will have War, it is his Choice; or (which is the fame thing) expects the fame Terms when throughly conquered, as if he were the Conqueror: He thinks himself still able to cope with five or fix at once, and by fo doing gives them a Right to profecute a War against him; nay, makes it dangerous for them to defift. He regards not the Remonstrances of those Princes who interess themselves in order to procure a Peace, nor of his own Subjects. He retains, even in his Calamities, the fame Temper as when he conquer'd Poland, and ravag'd Saxony. Is it not the constant Practice of all other Princes that are vanquished, to yield to Circumstances, B b 3

and to give up what they cannot keep? How comes he to be still Master of three of the best Danish Provinces, but by the Danes Surrender of them? Is he the only Prince of the World who claims a Privilege not to bend to Fortune? or that must be allowed to be so high-spirited and magnanimous, as not to hearken to Peace, unless (as a Preliminary) Countries be restored to him, which were but the Conquests of two or three of his late Predecessors?

Is it a prudential Part in all the other Princes of Europe, to suffer such an untamed Spirit to get the better of them all? and to be reinstated in a Power which will certainly be exerted to their Destruction? For he has shewn he never can

forgive.

His being fo truly religious as the Remarker reprefents him, ought to have induced him to fubmit a little more calmly to those Dispensations of Providence which he flies in the Face of; which feems to have mark'd out to him his Fault, and to punish him in some Proportion: And until he be throughly humble, he should not expect an Alteration in his Favour. 'Tis not feemly to rage like a Tyger taken in the Toils, but rather to endeavour to extricate himself by prudent Meafures upon the best Terms he can. If this Chastifement do not amend him, a more severe one may destroy him. For it is a certain Rule, that when Afflictions do not humble, they harden, and that is the High-way to Ruin; and then, too late, he begins to reflect, whether some Part of his Punishment may not be a just Return for a Piece of Barbarity he has been observed never to thrive fince he committed, and for his Endeavours to bring the Turk into Christendom. " The

"In the true British Spirit bates indeed to see Va"lour oppressed by Odds, especially in a just Cause,
"and thinks it base for many to attack one." But then that One must not be a declared Enemy of those true Britons, and almost of all Mankind; he must be One willing to have Peace and Quiet upon fair Terms, if others are disposed to have it with him; he must be magnanimous, not spiteful in his Distress; he must be such a one as his real Enemies, and those he endeavours to make so, may venture and dare to be Friends with. In short, he must be of a quite different Temper from what the King of Sueden has hitherto given any Specimen of.

I cannot have a fairer Opportunity than in this Place, to fet forth some of that King's Proceedings in relation to the Allies, and to detect the false Glosses put upon them. This should not have been done, had not the Remarker made it necessary, in order to take off from the Allies that black Charge of Ingratitude he lays upon them.

'Tis well known that the two last Wars against France were undertaken, as well for the Preservation of the Liberties of Europe, as of the Protestant Interest: That France had acquired so exorbitant a Power, as put both these in the utmost Hazard: That Sueden own'd this to be a common Cause; and both as an Ally, and as a principal Member of the Empire, was bound to concur in But instead of supporting this Cause, or furnishing Troops towards the reducing France, at a Time of the greatest Struggle for all that is valuable to Mankind, even the very Quotas which he was obliged to by the Imperial Constitutions, were never fo much as fent. Those few Suedish Troops in Holland, which were paid by the Dutch, (as the Switzers are) and which had been of a long B b 4 Time Time upon an old Capitulation in their Service. were often threaten'd to be recalled; and fuch Seafons were chosen to do this, when the Urgency of the Occasion made their Assistance most necessary. I know the King of Sueden alledged his own being in War, as a Cause for these total Omissions of performing his Stipulations and Duty to the Emperor; but I also know that that Pretence was not always valid; there were feveral Times and Occasions wherein he might have done it, particularly when he was fo ftrong in Saxony, and might entirely have turn'd the Balance to that Side, which he was in Duty bound Instead of that, and supporting this comto do. mon Caufe, during the whole Courfe of those two long Wars, we find it reckoned as a principal Piece of Merit in him, that he did not enter further into Germany, and do all the Mischief there that lay within his Power.

But that which renders this way of Arguing most nauseous is, That we find it in the Mouths and Writings of those who shew themselves most heartily forry that the King of Sueden did not then employ his Arms this Way, rather than turn them against the Czar. At the same Time that they cry up the King of Sueden's Merit, they destroy it, by faying (and with the Show of the utmost Regret) that the Duke of Marlborough overperfuaded him, nay, bubbled bim (for that is their Term) into that March towards Muscovy, (where he found his Destruction) instead of coming into Germany, when (it feems) he was upon the Balance which to do. If it were fo, and that his Grace the Duke of Marlborough found a Means to divert a Storm, which would have blown up the common Cause at once, I think nothing can be said more for his Honour; 'tis the greatest Ornament to his Laurels (Laurels which never any General fince the Creation fo well deferved to wear) that could possibly be annexed to them. But I will inform the World, and the Remarker, of some additional Reasons which added Weight (with the King of Sueden) even to the Duke of Marlborough's Arguments, supposing them to have been made use of, and to be as strong as his Grace is capable of making: If the King of Sueden had at that Time marched into Germany, besides the ill Reputation fuch an Action would have given to a young King, and one who had a mind to pass for a bigotted Protestant, if not for the very Head of the Protestant Cause, (which would thereby have been entirely ruined) he had made himself a declared Party in the War against us; and whatever the present and immediate Consequences of that might have been, (fince he could not chain Victory to his Chariot Wheels) he had reason to fuspect that at long running it might turn much to his Detriment: The Maritime Powers would have infested his Dominions by Sea; nay, the very Princes of Germany, and the Emperor, (upon the least Disgrace received by him) might have given such a Turn to Fortune, as to have made him feverely repent his engaging against the Lord of his Fief: For he would have been put upon the Ban of the Empire, and forfeited all that he has fince loft, without Expectation of being pitied or restored, at least till a general Peace.

Besides, his mortal Enemy, the Muscovite, would have been at full Leisure to have fallen upon him at home, and no doubt would have made use of the Opportunity when he saw him engaged: Whereas by his turning against Muscovy, he ran no Risque of being attacked behind by any of the Powers then at War against France.

Further-

Furthermore, the Territories which he had Hopes of gaining from Muscovy, were much more convenient for his other Dominions, and at his bienseance, (as the French phrase it) than any he could acquire in those Parts of Saxony and the Empire, whither he might have directed his March; in which he must expect to subsist but as a Soldier of Fortune upon the Country, as Bernbard, Duke of Saxe Weymar, formerly did; and not to fix a stable lasting Propriety in any of them, because upon a Pacification it was ten to one but he was forced to restore: Whereas whatever he had gained from the Muscovite on the Frontiers of Livonia, Carelia, and Finland, or towards Novogorod, would have been in all Appearance annexed to his Crown, and permanent to his Successors.

These might have been his Reasons, (and good ones) why upon the Duke of Marlborough's Representations (supposing that Matter of Fact to be true, which I have heard controverted) he chose to march into Muscovy. But although he did so at last, yet he put the Emperor and Us all into such a Fright by his near Approach and Irresolution, that we lost by this Management the Fruits

of the Campaign 1707.

But now as to that exact Neutrality so often and so much boasted of: Since this English Merchant cannot brag of the Suede's giving us Assistance, he thinks he can with Considence affirm he observed an exact Neutrality: But we shall show the Remarker how much he is mistaken. We shall lay asside, for once, that true and undoubted Part of our Argument, That the Suede, being a Principal in these Wars, had no Right to a Neutrality; and only consider how he kept it.

First,

First, The Suedes affisted France with contraband Goods, and scarce with any other, by their own Ships: Next they gave the French, and all that paid for them, false Passports as Suedish Ships: They shelter'd all fort of French Essects going to, and coming out of, France, both in Suedish Ships and in others, to whom they granted such Passports. All this (together with the want of necessary Passports to many Ships afterwards urgently reclaimed by them) is apparent: And (upon Enquiry) the Demands which the Remarker says the Suedes have upon us, will be found, for the most part, to be for our Seizure and detaining of Ships within one of these above-mentioned Cases.

In the fecond Place, The Suedes made War upon two or three of our principal Allies, who affifted us in the Profecution of our War against France: This was in effect taking fo many Weapons out of our Hands, and difarming us as much as in him lay. The Elector of Saxony, in particular, was reduced to that Pass, that he could not command one fingle Soldier. 'Tis not to be denied, had the King of Sueden known when to have moderated his Anger, his first Resentments against his Enemies were very just, and all Europe esteemed them so; but he spoiled a good Cause, by fuffering his Passion, for Vengeance, to get the better of his Reason; and thereby distressing not only those that had done him the Injury, but the common Cause of Europe. I am loth to remember how he infulted the Emperor, fince the Emperor himself is so good as to forget it; but he gave too just Occasions to those who averr'd, that Sueden was always deep in the French Interest at the Bottom.

Thirdly, The Suedes permitted some of the best General Officers of their Nation to serve France during during all those Wars: For besides their Sparrs, and their Hasfeldts, they had many of their Countrymen of inserior Quality, who, both in the Civil and Military Capacity, acted vigorously against us, and appeared as warmly in the Interest of King James, and his pretended Successor, as any Irish Jacobite could, whose Religion, Life, and Fortune, depended upon that Cause; and all this, not only with the Connivence, but with the Approbation and Encouragement of their Master.

I have been told (but I am loth to fay too much on that Head) that in the Mediation of the Peace of Ryfwick, the Suedift Mediator was very far from showing himself partial on the Side of the Confederates; even so far, that if it had been possible for King William to have done otherwise, he would never have trusted the Management of

his Interests in those Hands he did.

This is that exact Neutrality so much bragg'd of, not only by the Remarker, but by all the Sueco-Jacobite Party, who have undertaken to discuss these Points of late in Discourse, News-Papers, and Pamphlets; and till I hear further from them, I shall think I have exploded all their Pretensions to it. As to the ill Usage of all English Merchants in Sueden, though I could say much, yet I shall only refer them to the Account of Sueden, written (as it is said) by the present \*Bishop of London, and surely they will believe bim.

But I go on with our Remarker, who informs the Jacobite Rebels, as plainly as he dares, by the indirect way of finding Fault with Mr. Jackson's Memorial, (though that Memorial intimates the quite contrary,) "That their Faction has a just "Ground of Encouragement, by knowing that there "is

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. John Robinson.

is fuch a Place as Sueden, where, if they mif-

se carry, they may easily save themselves, and be

" well received."

Is it so indeed? Then we are not mistaken; then 'tis time for good Men to look about them. The King of Sueden's Disaffection towards our King, and consequently to our Revolution Principles, and those who uphold them, has been but too much doubted already, and makes not only what hitherto we have made a Shew of doing against him, but what hereafter we may effectually do, (and much more) both just and necessary.

The pretended English Merchant's Banter is fpread too thin not to be feen through: The Jacobite Expectations are not so vain and ridiculous as he would reprefent them: They are by him expos'd in as odd a Light as he can, in order to make them be contemned, that they may be the more eafily compassed: His nonfensical Burlesque turns upon himself; "For although " there were no Fleets and Transports expected from " Lorrain, no invincible Armada's from Spain, no " Ice to march over from Sueden to Scotland," there were other Expectations better grounded; which our Government was fo far from laughing at, and despissing, that they took all the wife and effectual Measures for defeating them. Had the King of Sueden been in a Condition, we guess'd pretty well what might be expected from that Corner of the World.

What the Confidence of the Pretender's Friends has been in the King of Sueden, and how great Affistance they have all along promised themfelves from him, especially upon his Invasion of Norway, is no manner of Secret: There is scarce a facobite School-Boy, or poor Tradesman's Wise about our Streets, who has not been instructed

how conveniently Norway lies to Scotland, and how much it was for their Master's Interest, that the brave King of Sueden should succeed in his Undertakings. They were as forry for his Lofs of Rugen and Stralfund (Places which they never before had heard of, but which then they were made to understand, and knew how to distinguish upon the Map) as they were for King George's Accession to the Crown. And as chimerical and filly as these Projects are represented to be, (now they have failed) I am apt to believe the Remarker himself might have built upon some of them: For we fee with what Tenderness he speaks of those few unfortunate Men, (meaning the Scotch Rebels) the harbouring of whom he puts upon an equal foot with our Non-Performance of Covenants of Assistance to Sueden against its Enemies and our Friends. But I have elsewhere explained those Treaties, and shewn the Difference, and how Sueden has acted under the like and greater Obligations. Eighteen or twenty thousand Men in Norway are not (even in the Remarker's own Opinion) a contemptible Handful: He thinks them enough to conquer fuch a Kingdom, allowing for the Supplies which from time to time would have been fent them, had the first Attempt fucceeded, and the King of Sueden not been call'd away to defend Schonen with his Army.

"Threatnings are indeed a Language Princes do
"not easily speak nor brook." But I wonder how
our Remarker ventures to put People in mind of
such an Axiom, since he knows no Prince alive
has given more of that Kind, and taken sewer,
than his Hero has done. The Great Turk himself
has had his Share from him, even when he was a
Resugee, and a sort of a Prisoner in his Domi-

nions;

nions; and I think there is no one Christian Prince that can brag he has escaped entirely.

No King in Europe has been a greater Slave to, nor a greater Sufferer by, his own Choler, than he has been; the most cruel, as well as the most unfuccessful, Actions of his Life are owing to it. His Generals, Admirals, Senators, nay, Relations, and intimate Friends, dare not fo much as represent calmly against any Thing he has once positively resolved upon. And these Resolutions he takes alone, without debating them. his rash Commands, and persisting in them, he owes the Lofs of whole Armies in Muscovy, in Jutland, in Rugen and Stralfund, the Destruction of his Commerce, the Loss of Holstein, by forcing it into his Quarrel; the difobliging all his Friends, the Perseverance of his Enemies, the utter Disappointment of all Treaties of Accommodation. Treaties defigned for his Relief in the utmost Extremities, these he reckons as the greatest of Injuries and Affronts. How long and how often has he refus'd (and upon what strange Pretences and Formalities) to fend his Ministers to the Congress at Brunswick? notwithstanding all the Instances of the Emperor and the King of Great-Britain, moved by the urgent Necessities of the King of Sueden's Affairs. How often has he delay'd or refus'd to return Answers, or not civil ones, to Messages contrived purely for his Service? His Towns must hearken to no Capitulations; his Armies must not retreat, let the Occasion be never so manifest; his Men must be engaged to fight to the last Drop of their Blood, against all likelihood of Success: He must have all or none; and this he hopes passes for invincible Courage, a Virtue which he does not distinguish from Brutality. He feems (if we are rightly informed) to have

have bound himself under some foolish Vows; as not to lie in a Bed, or otherwise than in Straw; not to wear a clean Shirt, nor a white Cravat; nor pull off his Boots above once or twice a Month; to wear a broad Leather Belt, very ordinary Cloaths, and forty other mere Quixotifms, till he be revenged, according to his own Mind, of his Enemies. His obstinate defending a fingle House at Bender, with 500 Men against 10000, in the very midft of the Grand Signior's Dominions, is to be looked on (forfooth) as the Effects of an undaunted Spirit: His not visiting the Capital \* City after fo long an Absence; his not meeting the States of his Realm, not going to his Senators, or holding a Council; not hearkening to the Cries of the Merchants, the Fatherless, and the Widows; all this is Magnanimity. One may fee he wishes the whole World were in Flames and Defolation, provided he could accomplish his Revenge. Is this a Temper to be endured? His Admirers would do well to remember there are different Kinds of Melancholies, a Religious, a Stupid, a Raging, an Heroick, an Amorous, a Vain-glorious, &c. In which Rank do they think their Hero deserves to be placed? Was it not amazing to hear t'other Day of his great Wrath testified against his poor Subjects of Lapmark, only for framing themselves into Bodies for their own Defence against the Muscovites, who had an Army upon the Borders ready to fall upon them; and this at a Time when the King of Sueden had withdrawn all his Soldiers in those Parts to reinforce his Army in Schonen, and these poor Laplanders had nothing in the World to defend them but their own Valour? This was however confrued as an Encroachment on the Regal Authority;

rity; and their King has shown that he is so jealous of it, that he had been better pleased if they had all been cut in Pieces, than have offered to defend themselves under Officers not of his appointing; though he was so far off, as that they could not wait for his Orders. Is not this straining the Prerogative till it even cracks again? and at the most unseasonable Juncture that could be?

But to proceed: The Remarker says, "The Flags of Great-Britain, and such strong Squadrons, do not use to shew themselves in the Baltick upon so slight an Occasion as conveying home but 140000 Pounds worth of Goods, at the Expence of above 400000; no, 'tis to force the distressed King of Sueden to an unreasonable Satisfaction for some Merchant-Ships; or rather to binder him from attempting any thing against

" Norway and Denmark."

The Remarker, though an English Merchant, would make but a bad Umpire for us, were he chosen for that Purpose: For without knowing what Satisfaction we demand, he has determined it to be unreasonable. And as to the English Flags, he very well knows they have appeared in the Baltick so effectually in behalf of the Suedes, when we bombarded Copenbagen, that one would little imagine that Action should be paid now with so great Ingratitude, as that they are forced to appear there again to protect English Ships in their Commerce, from a Suedish Seizure and Confiscation.

The Defign of preventing Norway from falling into Suedish Hands, I have already shewn to have been a very justifiable and necessary one, as well from the Situation of Norway, as the general Expectation of the Rebels of Assistance from thence, in case the King of Sueden had conquer'd it. But

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the Remarker's Observation, that Mr. Jackson (only upon this Head) threatens that King with the Means God hath put into the King his Master's Hands, is entirely false: That Sentence refers to all the three Points complained of, as may be seen in the Memorial itself.

But furely there is fomething he thinks very enormous in that Sentence, which the Remarker (for fear it should escape the Reader's Observation) has repeated five times in his Pamphlet, and printed it always in Capital Letters, "THE MEANS GOD HAS PUT IN THE KING HIS MASTER'S HANDS." I know not what he can make of this, that is either arrogant or unjust; his own Expression of the King of Sueden, viz. " That the Necessity of Affairs required that he " should use all the Beans in his Power," has by fo much the more Prefumption in it than the former, that it does not derive that Power from God, as Mr. Fackson does, but leaves us to guess (nay, to feel by fad Effects) that it is an illconcerted wilful Power, proceeding from an Obstinacy of Mind, which has its Rife from God's Opposite, rather than from God.

The Remarker would farther suggest, "That they are Enemies to the Government who have

" looked on with Indifference, and feen the King of

" Sueden dispossessed of balf his Dominions."

I answer, he would do well to explain what Government he means, Whether it be King George's, or the Pretender's? Which last the King of Sueden has been thought by the Jacobites to be all along a working for: And this may be one cogent Reason why his Majesty has suffered his Fleet to be an idle Spectator; and would have justified its being an Actor too, had not his Majesty had more Forbearance and Good-nature, than the Proceedings

Proceedings of the King of Sueden (as well in this, as in respect to the Interruption of Com-

merce) deferved from him.

I am of Opinion that the King of Sueden's continuing Master of Stralfund, and his other Provinces on this Side the Baltick, would have been a manifest Detriment to that Cause which every true Englishman has fworn to defend with his Life and Fortune. We went even against our Interest, when we offered him a Neutrality for them. confess, indeed, that there was a Time (to use the Remarker's Expression) "when those German Pro-" vinces being in the Suede's Hands, were looked " upon as a principal Bulwark to the whole Prote-" ftant Interest." But the Case is altered since the present King of Sueden has thought fit to alter his Measures. If we may judge by his Actions of late, one would be apt to think that neither the Interest of Protestantism, nor of Christianity itfelf, is put in Balance (by him) with that implacable Revenge against those he has made his Enemies. And besides, those Provinces are still in Protestant Hands, and in such who will shew themselves more affectionate to the true Interest of Europe, than this King of Sueden ever did, or can be hoped to do: So that the Protestant Interest has rather gained, than loft, by this Exchange.

Since I have mentioned the Neutrality, which our King and the other high Allies offered to procure and guarantee for his German Dominions, it will not be amifs to give some short Account of it, that the World may judge whether "His "Majesty was only an idle Spestator of the Loss of these Provinces, and bad all along a Design upon "some of them bimself," as the Remarker upbraids him to have had. When the King of Sueden's want of Power to defend all his Dominions at

once, became visible to all the World but himself, his Majesty and his Allies, to prevent the kindling of a War in Germany (the Issue of which no body could foresee) proposed, and actually concerted, a Neutrality for the King of Sueden's German Provinces. This, one would have thought, was at once a fecuring them for him, and fetting his Hands at liberty to defend himself, when attacked elsewhere, with almost a secure Prospect of his doing it effectually. This was brought to fuch Maturity, that his Senate at Stockholm accepted it as the greatest Piece of good Fortune and of Friendship that could be offered them; but so far was the King of Sueden (then a fort of Prisoner at Bender) from accepting this as a Kindness, that in a very haughty, rough, and scornful Manner he absolutely rejected it, and treated those who had concerted it as his utter Enemies, in a publick Declaration to the States General, dated Bender, November the 30th, 1710. His own Words are worth putting down, which shall afterwards be english'd. After declaiming severely against the Neutrality, he goes on thus—" Pro-" testatur ad bæc, atque notum bisce testatumque fa-" cit omnibus & singulis, se fretam (Regiam Maje-" statem went before) Auxilio Divino atque equitate " Cause, sibi reservatam velle, omnimodam ac nullis " circumscriptam facultatem, utendi mediis & vi-" ribus quas Deus concessit, adversus Hostes suos, " utcunque Locorum & quocunque Tempore Usus & " Ratio Belli id postulaverit: quodque autem, præce ter omnem spem, quisquam, amicum animum exu-" ens, remoram aut obstaculum illi struerit, tunc " cum in eo fuerit ut justis Armis ipsi sit persequen-" dus conjuratus bostis; declarat Sacra Regia Mae jestas, se non posse sundem also quam Aggressoris

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# Count Gyllenborg's Remarks. 365

Loco babere. In quorum majorem Fidem bosce

" Manu propria subscripsit, ac ita rata esse voluit.

CAROLUS.

H.G. Von Mullern.

"His facred Majesty protests against this, and " by these Presents makes known and testifies to " all and fingular, that he (relying upon the " Divine Assistance, and the Equity of his Cause) " reserves to himself a Liberty not to be circum-" scribed by any Person whomsoever, of using " all and every the Ways and Means which God " shall put into his Hands against his Enemies, " in whatfoever Place or Time the Custom and " Reason of War shall require it: And if any " Person (putting off all friendly Mind towards " him) shall, contrary to all his Expectations, of-" fer to hinder or delay him in the Profecution " of his mortal Enemies with his utmost Force, " that then, and in fuch Case, his Royal Maje-" fty declares, that he cannot look upon fuch a " one otherwise than as an Aggressor. In further " Testimony of which, he ratifies what is above-" written, and fubscribes it with his own Hand.

CHARLES.

### H. G. Von Mullern.

What Prince would be willing to fave his Territories for him at fuch a Hazard? And altho' the King of Sueden should pretend to suspect these Mediators as biaffed to the Caufe of his Enemies. (which by their offering to fecure his German Provinces to him, he had no Reason to do) yet it will not justify such a scornful and threatning Cc3 Refufal

Refusal of the good Offices which were offered him so opportunely, as is contained in this Declaration: In Proof of which, we shall once again quote *Puffendorf*, lib. 5. cap. 13. sect. 7.

"Mediatores qui Bellum gerentibus sese interponunt, bos (cum tam sanctum propositum præ se ferant)

" præfracte rejicere summa inbumanitas est: Ne quidem ex eo Prætextu quod cum altera parte ipsis

"peculiaris quædam conjunctio videatur intercedere.

"Tis the utmost Inhumanity for any Prince that is at War with another, obstinately to resist those

" Mediators who interpose to do so good and pious an Office as to make Peace, tho' even upon Pre-

" tence that those Mediators are particularly enga-

" ged on the contrary Side."

I have already mentioned his many Evafions and Denials to fend his Ministers to the Congress at Brunswick, originally designed for his Service; and I must not conceal the best Reasons that I have heard given privately why the King of Sueden refused it; as also the Offers of Neutrality for his German Territories. Perhaps now that the Designs of the Ottoman Empire are deseated, he

may change his Mind.

He had about the time this Neutrality was first proposed, two Bodies of Troops or Armies in the Empire, one in Holstein, and another about Rugen and Stralsund, or at least one Body: And he hoped, if once he could get to them, he should be able so to increase and model them, as to be soon in a Capacity of meeting the Forces of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle of Poland or Germany, according to the Purport of private Leagues and Treaties with the Porte. Had he accepted of a Neutrality for his German Dominions, the Execution of this Project had been quite frustrated: And had he sent his Ministers to the Congress at Brunswick,

# Count Gyllenborg's Remarks. 367

Brunswick, he had given so great Umbrage to the Turks, and such Suspicion of the Sincerity of his Intentions, that they would soon have taken the Alarm, and not sulfill'd their Part of the Engagement; so that the King of Sueden having his Design in view, chose rather to run all Hazards

than carry his Army another way.

Of what Consequence this Scheme would have been to the *Emperor* and to all *Europe*, is pretty visible. The *Turk* has kept his Word (much to his Damage). The King of *Sueden* would have done so, if he had not been put out of the Power; which the *Turk* is sensible of, and therefore may trust him another time: tho' I have been told he sent a *Chiaus* as far as the *Hague*, who, under the Pretence of other Business, was to make his best Enquiries into the Reality of the King of *Sueden*'s Promises, and what Condition he might be in of

making them good.

I shall finish my Observations upon this Neutrality for his German Territories, proposed by his Majesty, and so sternly rejected by the King of Sueden, with this short Remark, That really, and in truth, his Majesty (in favour of Sueden) exceeded the Bounds of a just Neutrality when he proposed it: For whenever one Side is apparently too weak for his Adversaries, whoever proposes or compasses a Suspension of Arms, or a Neutrality, is really and effentially a Party for the weaker Side. One may fee then with what Justice and Reason the Remarker upbraids his Majesty with " looking on with Indifference, and breaking " the Covenants of those Leagues and Treaties we " bave with Sueden," in relation to the Territories in Germany.

And as to the fecuring our Commerce, daily Experience shows how necessary a strong Convoy

is, not only to the Ports in the Muscovites Possesfion, but to all others in the Baltick and Northern Ocean; the Suedes perfifting to take all our Ships they can meet with, tho' going to, and returning from, the very Suedifb Ports, laden with Iron and other of their Commodities, for which they commonly receive our Ready Money, infomuch that the Balance of Trade is on their fide; which demonstrates apparently the Effects of an impotent Malice, even against the Interest of his own Subjects; for these have frequently made Complaints of Proceedings which will infallibly deftroy their whole Traffick with us in a short time, and cause us either to turn our Views to our own Plantations in America, for such Goods as the East-Sea used to furnish us withal, or enforce our large Squadrons (which have hitherto committed no Hostilities, but been bare Lookers-on) to declare and act openly against him, and show how easily we might make Reprizals if we pleased. And indeed our English Merchants (bating this Remarker) are aftonished why we bear so long with fuch an infolent Interruption of our Trade, at a time when we have the Means fo ready at hand to redress ourselves.

Let any Man, who defires to be informed, look into the News-Papers for the submissive Address of the Town of Gottenburg to their King, setting forth the vast Inconveniencies those Captures had already, and would certainly bring surther upon that City; (which is the best situated for Trade, and the second in Value in his Dominions, and which receives the greatest Advantage by the piratical Trade, most, if not all, the Suedish Privateers belonging to it, and the Prizes being sold at easy Rates to its Inhabitants;) and let him withal consider seriously the King of Sueden's Answer to

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the humble Remonstrances of his poor Subjects. I have not the Print by me, but it is to this Effect:

" Let the Merchants of Gottenburg know, that I

bad rather they and their Traffick should suffer

" under all the Disadvantages imaginable, than that

" any thing that I have commanded to be done, fould be disputed; and that I am resolved to

" persist in this seizing and confiscating of Ships, let

" what will be the Consequence."

This is a Stretch beyond whatfoever was yet attempted in Turky; here is the Salus Populi taken care of to purpose. Is not this enough to convert or confound our Jacobites? Can Slavery (which they have been endeavouring to bring upon their own Nation) be fo amiable to them? Is this the Protestant Ally they are contending for at such a rate, at the same time that they are doing all they can to bring in a Popish King to rule over them, and with him both ghostly and bodily Slavery? I look upon this as a fufficient Item what fort of Protestants they are, and what they take this brave, undaunted, valorous King of Sueden to be, whose Ministers have learnt from their Master to make use of the same Stile, (witness Count Welling's Threatnings of the Citizens of Hamburg, if they shall dare to deliver up to the Czar the deferting Muscovite Officer he has caused to be seized there) infomuch that 'tis grown unfafe for fober People to treat or argue with them, they are fo apt to make use of the Means and Power put into their Hands, and do not stand inactive like English Squadrons in the Baltick. In the mean time what a fad Condition are the poor native Suedes in!

I must here crave leave to take notice of a wrong Notion the World has had of the Suedes; tis indeed with some Reluctancy I do it: But when I hear their Fidelity and Valour put in com-

parison,

parison, and preferred to that of the English towards their Kings, I cannot, without a Prejudice to what I think is Truth, difguife my Opinion of that Matter. Fidelity is then a commendable Virtue, whilft the Reasons subsist which at first obliged any fingle Man, or Nation, to swear and engage to it: 'Tis due to Laws; and where Laws have not their Course, 'tis due even to good Usage or Affection; nay, 'tis especially due to Princes in Distress. On the other hand, 'tis not commendable when paid to Subverters of Laws, to cruel inexorable Princes, or fuch as are altogether regardless of the Lives, Properties, or Wellbeing of their Subjects. At fuch a Time, and towards fuch a Person, it changes its Name, and shows itself rather to proceed from a Depression of Spirit, an Extinction of the Notions of Liberty, and a desponding Inactivity in getting rid of the Load which oppresses. Tacitus says justly of the Gauls, who were the bravest Men in the World till the Romans had entirely subdued them, Amissa Virtute pariter ac Libertate, their Valour and their Liberty funk at one time. And when we fee the Suedes standing in a Body, (tho' to be killed upon the Spot) 'tis but improperly we call it Valour; for never was there Valour without fome Motive to it: And what Motives can they have, poor People? Their Valour (if you will call it fo) is altogether paffive; they are never observed to be alert, or contending to acquire any Thing, whether Riches, Liberty, or Reputation: No, they are taught by a strict Discipline to stand still to be knocked on the Head. They dare not do otherwise: It would be more dangerous to run away. Such a fort of Coward, or a Deferter, could not remain hid in Sueden, for he is nourished by his Boor, and could not fail

fail being met with again, and punished by fomething worse than bare Death. He knows not where to run, or how to fubfift out of the Army, nor in a strange Country, could be easily get into it. This is the Cafe of the Suediff Soldier; and the Reason of his seeming Intrepidity in a Day of Battel, which (as I faid before) confifts in Obedience and Paffiveness: For no Soldier of any other Nation is observed to be less voluntarily active in the Attack of Towns, leaping over Trenches, or plucking up Palifadoes, and fuch like. Were not the Discipline extreme exact, good, and rigorous, he should naturally be the worst Soldier in Europe; so that the Saying of the Suedish Nobleman was literally true; "Our King " has found the Way not only of depriving us of all " our Estates, but of our very Souls too." I am forry I have been drawn into this Digreffion, without any Intention of dispraising poor People who cannot help it; a People once the bravest in the World, the greatest Lovers and Propagators of Liberty; who have, only by their want of taking care in time, been reduced to the pass of being commended for standing still to be killed, at the unaccountable and indifcreet Will of any Tyrant who shall command them. Obedience shall get the better of worse disciplin'd Troops, accompanied with never fo much active Valour upon right Principles.

But I return to that Article relating to our Commerce, and observe what this English Merchant says, viz. "That the English might have

"the same Naval Stores from Archangel; and two Parts of three of them usually came from

" thence, which the King of Sueden never ob-

" firuEted."

Surely this Remarker supposes he writes only to fuch as neither understand the State of our Trade nor Navigation, or ever looked upon a Map. Is our Traffick to and from Archangel indeed free and uninterrupted by the Suedes? Will he fay this is true in Fact, contrary to all Evidence possible? But if it were, must it follow, because our Trading Ships have hitherto undertaken the most dangerous Navigation in the Universe to bring home Naval Stores, that therefore they must continue to do so, when a new and a ten times easier Way is opened? Archangel was the only Port in the Czar's Dominions, and a Port of the Englishmen's own Discovery; which made him grant them large Privileges at first, now in great measure abolished. We were forced, in order to get Naval Stores, (a Commodity which must be had at any Rate) to fail yearly twice about the Northern Cape, within 15 Degrees of the Pole, and above 500 Leagues: Sometimes in a Voyage outward, but almost always homeward, by reason of the Lateness of the Season, our Fleets were scattered, dispersed, and many of our Ships loft in those dreadful stormy Seas, where no Day-light appears for near half the Year. At present the Czar has not only recovered Narva, (a Port formerly belonging to Muscovy in the East-Sea) which the Suede, whilst he was Master of it, shut up so that no Naval Stores could be got from thence; but he has built and opened a new Port of his own, called Petersburg, and engages to our Merchants, that he will cause to be brought to these two Ports the same, or a greater Quantity of Naval Stores, and at cheaper Rates, than formerly were carried to Archangel. The Navigation to the East-Sea is not half the Length, nor the fourth part the Danger

Danger of the other. Two Returns in one Year, if not more, may be had from Narva; whereas 'twas with great Difficulty that one could be had from Archangel. Now the King of Sueden takes it into his Head, not only to obstruct the Czar in making any Benefit of these Ports in the Baltick, as well that of Riga, Revel, and Narva, as Petersburg, but also to hinder the English, Dutch, and all other Nations, from any fort of Trade there. He did indeed fo far spoil the Czar's Project, (who then was quite unprovided of Ships to fupport it) that he was obliged to open the Trade to Archangel again; and the English were also obliged to make use of it again, without any confiderable Damage; for having a competent Stock of Goods laid in there, they might want to remove both them and the Factory: So that if more was brought home that Year from Archangel than from Petersburg; if but 150000 l. worth, and this at 400000 l. Expence, (as the Remarker observes) came from the Baltick, if our Charges were fo much more than our Profit, pray who was to blame for it? Our Merchants, as foon as they have altered and fettled their Correspondences, you may be fure would chuse the shorter and fafer Navigation. And the Czar's arbitrary Power, which is fo much objected to, extends as well to Archangel as to his Ports in the East-Sea: If he has a mind to make use of it, he may as foon do it in the one as the other. Why must not the English sail to these Ports with Goods not of Contraband? nor bring back thence fuch Commodities as are wanted at home, with one third part of the Charge and Danger they formerly underwent? Can the Partizans of Sueden alledge any Reason for this, besides the Execution of that Prince's unbounded Will and Paffion? Should

Should not we be Fools to fuffer ourselves to be circumscribed by it, when we have the Right and the Power to help ourselves? Are those Ports befieged by the King of Sueden? Has he a near Prospect of recovering them by Force of Arms? How long must any Port have been in a King's Possession, who has retaken it, before neutral Nations shall be permitted to trade thither? Has not the Czar kept Possession of these Ports, and the Countries about them, for feveral Years past? Is he not able to maintain this Possession? 'Tis wonderful what strange Laws some People would introduce for the Government of the World, and have them to be executed by Princes without Power, and to be submitted to by Princes and States who want neither Power nor Right to oppose them. I am astonished at the Insolence of this Remarker, who, contrary to common Sense and Truth, advances fuch Things, and dares to infinuate, "That our Government has made use of " all forts of shallow Pretences for to pick a Quarrel " with the King of Sueden, and to assist his Ene-" mies." Yet these shallow Pretences (which I call real Injuries) have not as yet provoked us; our Squadrons of Ships, though at 400000 l. Charges, as the Remarker fays, and running great Risques, wait patiently till the King of Sueden's Stomach will please to come down. I wish, indeed, we had given this Remarker more Ground for his Complaint, and vindicated our Trade, not only by barely guarding it backward and forward, but by procuring a due Compensation for Damages past, as well as a Security for the future.

But how comes it to pass, "That our Trading" to the Muscovite's Ports in the Baltick, must be construed our giving up our whole Trade there to them?" as the English Merchant represents it to

be. Does the Czar pretend to interrupt our Traffick with the Danes, the Hans Towns, or even with the Suedes, though in War with them? Can he do fo if he would? Is it not better for all the Traders, that there should be three Naval Powers in that Sea, than two? The more Markets, and the more Hands fuch a Power is shar'd into, the more Resources are left for Trade in case of Difficulties; the less Danger is there of a Combination to obstruct it; the more frequent are the Occasions given and taken for Quarrels among themselves; and a divided Power is a nearer Degree to, and a fafer Guard for publick Liberty, than an united one, being less likely to be employed against it. Are not either the Suedes or the Danes, fingly, a fufficient Match, as yet, for the Muscovites by Sea? And if the two former unite to obstruct any tyrannical Exercise of Power, (as upon a farther Growth of the Muscovite they undoubtedly would) 'tis certain they are much fuperior. And should the Muscovite grow upon them, and pretend to impose Laws, does the Remarker think the other great Maritime Powers of Europe would fit still and look on, fuffering the great Trade they have in the Baltick to be destroyed, or remain precarious?

The Remarker's pretending to be an English Merchant, makes it necessary to speak to him in his own Way, and to show to others the Weakness of his Arguments in respect to Trade, which he chuses not to understand, having other Views. He will not seem to comprehend that the Czar's Projects for the Removal of Trade from Archangel to Petersburg (so far as should answer the Occasion and Demands of all foreign Merchants) could not be brought to bear in one or two Years time, especially being interrupted as they have

been

been by the King of Sueden, that 'tis rather a Wonder he has brought it to the present Perfection: That 'tis scarce possible he should fall out with the English and Dutch in the Course of a Century to come, without running the Hazard of inevitable Ruin: That his joining with the French (supposing they should be our Enemies) would stand him in little stead: That at any Time we should have either the Suedes or Danes, or both, to aid us against him, if we wanted them. All thefe are pretty apparent to one, like the Remarker, skill'd in Politicks; if his Politicks were not turn'd another Way, and upon a different Hinge.

Yet the Remarker has found a Jacobite Touch in the Memorial, which grieves him fadly:

" Mr. Jackson, it seems, has infinuated that the " present Prosperity of England is so ill settled,

" that it can be shaken by any thing the King of

" Sueden can do: And this he says is Matter of

" Encouragement to the Disturbers of the Quiet of " England." Upon this he grafts a Question in thefe Terms: " For God-sake, bow comes it to

" pass (upon the Suedes entring into Norway) that

" the effential Interests of England are now so di-

" rettly opposite to what we took them to be in our

" great Deliverer King William's Time, who " espoused vigorously the Suedish Cause against the

" Danes; and a little before his Death, did tie

" those two Interests still closer, by a solemn defen-

" five Treaty, which to this Day subsists?" And to goes on with a rhetorical Expostulation, wherein the two Words, Justice and Honour, in Capital Letters, chime together, till he thinks be has fully proved the King and his Ministers

have neither the one nor the other.

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To this I answer; I know not what solemn Treaty the Remarker means, unless it be that whereinto the Dutch enter'd, and was a kind of Guarantee of the Treaty of Ryswick, of which Sueden had been a Mediator. Which Guarantee Sueden never executed in our Favour, but excus'd himself upon account of his being in War; tho' the Number of Ships, &c. had been stipulated on both Sides, and we had helped him out of the Danish War, and he was in Condition to perform it very well when he was in Saxony.

But in this Objection the Remarker lays afide the Character of a Merchant, and affumes that of an Orator or Minister, which indeed suits him better: And therefore I shall answer his Queries,

tho' not in his declamatory Stile.

Our Religion, our Commerce, our Liberty and Property, are so far from having engaged us to vary from our old Principles, under a Prince who in every thing follows fo closely the glorious Footsteps of King William, that they have confirmed us more and more in the Maintenance of those Principles. I hope the Jacobites will prove this to their Cost, and all who directly or indirectly shall support them. If then the King of Sueden shall change his own Measures, or not tread in the Steps of his Father: If he shall attack those Allies from whom we are to have the requifite Affiftance to support all these Bleffings, and endeavour to break a Confederacy fo neceffary for our own and the Good of all Europe: If he shall show a particular Disaffection to our King and his Cause: If, in order to weaken a principal Ally, at the Instigation of his own revengeful Appetite, and of another Prince whose Friendship was but too liable to Suspicion, he shall invite the Enemy of all Christianity to fall Ddupon

upon him: If he shall attack another of our Allies, just in such a Place, where, if he succeeds, it puts him in the Power of fuccouring our King's rebellious Subjects: I fay, in all, or any of these Cases, Justice will prompt us to secure ourselves in the first place; neither Justice, nor Donout, nor Prudence, will ever engage us to rescue our Back-Friend (and that even against his Will) from the just Resentments of our faithful Justice will make us remember how Allies. near the King of Sueden was to undoing us and Europe, when he flood victorious in Saxony: And Justice will instruct us upon what Motives he forbore doing it effectually. Justice will diftinguish Realities from false Appearances, and set Matters in their true Light; take off the Difguises which ill Men would cover them with, in order to carry on a fallacious Argument: And Danour will tell us how base it is to fall off from those Principles of Protestantism which his Predecessors espoused with so great Renown and Profit to themselves. Donotte and Justice both would own when we had amply repaid any good Turn done us, and remember that we once bombarded his Enemy's Capital City for his Cause. In what Manner this has been fince acknowledg'd, the World will judge.

But now comes the Quintessence of the Remarker's Malice; the three or four next Paragraphs in his Libel give Vent to what all his foregoing ones have been working up to a Fer-

ment.

"The Court of Danover has all along had a mind to the Suedish Dutchies of Bremen and Verden; and to induce the Danes (who had unightly taken them from the Suedes) to fell them to his Majesty, had declared a War against the

King

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"King of Sueden, and caused the English Fleet to " alt in Favour of the Northern League. And

" all these Stories have infused into the Minds of his

" Majesty's faithful Subjects, the Notion as if his

" Majesty would so far make a Breach in the AEt of

" Succession (the very AEt that set the Crown upon

" bis Head) as to increase bis Dominions in Ger-

" many, at the Expence of the British Blood and

"Treasure, by involving these Nations in foreign

" Quarrels." See what a hearty Friend the Remarker is to the Act of Succession, and the present happy Establishment: He cannot bear the least Appearance of a Breach in it, till the King of Sueden comes to affift his Friends to do it effectually. "The King must not send a strong Squadron into " the Baltick. No: The English Flags are above appearing in that Sea, unless it be to help the "King of Sueden. His Majesty must not order his " Ministers to deliver Memorials," defiring that King to put an end to the most piratical Proceedings that ever were heard of, "or to give a " just Satisfaction for Damages done, for fear of vexing the magnanimous Spirit of his Suedish " Majesty, and of drawing Great-Britain into the " Quarrel." Should it proceed so far as an open Breach, "the Remarker is ready to prove that 'tis " an Infraction of the Act of Limitation of the Suc-" ceffion," and done, not upon the Account of the horrible Infults upon our Trade (which is continued to this Hour) nor " to prevent the like for " the future; nor to get Satisfaction for about

" 240000 l. Damages done the English Subjects:

" No, 'tis only to engage England in an unjust

" Quarrel; 'tis the two Dutchies of Bremen and

" Verden, which the Danes have fold to the Court Dd2

" of Hanover, and which the King had a mind to

" at any rate, that are at the Bottom of all."

This Calumny, tho' most audacious and venomous, is yet cafily refuted; for nothing is more publickly known, than that his Majesty (then Elector of Brunswick) was more earnest and active than any other Prince, to get a Body of neutral Troops affembled purpofely to fave and fecure to Sueden its Provinces in Germany. 'Tis a false Suggestion therefore, That the Court of Hanover have for a long time had a Defign to get into their Hands the Country of Bremen: Nor indeed did they acquire or conquer that Country from Sueden; but the King of Denmark having gained it by Conquest, his Majesty (then Elector) found that Prince in full Possession of it; and every Man of common Sense will judge clearly, that it was contrary to all good Policy to let that Country remain in the Hands of fuch a Possessor; because, in short, Denmark would have entirely pent up the Electorate of Hanover: For, the Country of Bremen extending from the Elbe to the Weser, and his Danish Majesty having the Town of Gluckstadt on the other Side of the first of these Rivers, and the County of Oldenburg on the other Side of the second, all this Tract of Territory would have become contiguous, had he kept the Dutchy of Bremen; by which means Denmark might in time have come to be Mistress of all the Commerce of the Elbe and Weser, and by consequence of that of all Germany, not without Danger to the Cities of Bremen and Hamburg; Inconveniences which were not at all to be feared from the King of Sueden, because the Country of Bremen is a separate Territory, and diftant from all his other Dominions. Circumstances his Majesty acquired that Country

# Count Gyllenborg's Remarks. 381

of the King of Denmark for a very confiderable Sum; and by so doing provided for the Sasety of his own Electorate, and of his Neighbourhood. Whether Sueden ought to be restored to all its Provinces in Germany, or to part of them, or to be entirely excluded and kept out of the Empire, is what must be decided by the suture Peace in the North. Till which Time, such as our Libeller can only offer to calumniate, but none can justly censure a Conduct so prudent and so equitable, as was his Majesty's on this Occasion.

Here I shall take leave to make one Remark. affuring those concerned that I am not fingular in it, but have heard the fame Thing frequently taken notice of with Regret by many of the Wifest and Best-affectioned to our Laws and Liberties that were in the Kingdom; and that is, the great Mischies which we have for a long time, and do daily fuffer through the excessive Licenses which some Gentlemen under a publick Character do take among us; which exceed by far those practised in any other Nation in the Universe. How many of them do we find to have been no other than constant Spies for a Power with whom we were in open War? How many foreign, but more English and Irish, Priests do they shelter among us? Perhaps two or three to each would be more than fufficient for the full and free Exercise of Religion, which ought (for themfelves and their Domesticks) never to be refused. But 'tis well if no countenancing of Traytors can be justly imputed to them. Common Fame fays, That the British Company they show themselves most fond of, are of such a Kind as plainly denotes they wish better to the opposite Cause, than that of the King they are fent to. In short, not only that Inundation of Romish Priests, that En-Dd3 couragement couragement of Rebels and Jacobites, that wicked Trade and Correspondence which we groan under, is attributed to many of them; but the framing destructive Schemes, the contriving of fcandalous Libels, and feveral other Evils which affect the King and Government, are faid to be fomented by their Domesticks, and others protected by them. I have had Occasion to know in what Temper and Disposition they keep our Papists, who frequent their Confessionaries; and both what Hopes and what Hatreds they infuse into them. May not I be pardoned a little Zeal for my Country, when I ask, What Necessity is there for one half of those who have little or no visible Business here but what I endeavour to expose? 'Tis high time for them now to alter their Measures, or for his Majesty to take such as will not please them, but which are absolutely necesfary to the publick Safety. During the late War, it was worth the French King's while to pay both their Ordinaries and Extraordinaries, and fave their Masters the Expence of both: Since he that receives the Advantage, ought always to bear the Charges of the Work.

In one of his last Paragraphs he tells us," That "no doubt the Time of his Majesty's Absence was

" thought the fittest to alienate the Minds of his "Majesty's faithful Subjects, by publishing this Me-

"morial, and making a publick Minister advance

" therein Things in his Majesty's Name, contrary to all religious as well as worldly Concerns of

"Great-Britain, and directly opposite to Justice, "Honour, and the usual Generosity of our Nation."

These extravagant Expressions, these unmannerly salse Aspersions, both on the King and his Ministry, tho' they be a downright Alarm to a new Rebellion, are (it seems) to be supported by

the Liberty taken by this Remarker to suppose all the Memorials (delivered these two Years past, by the King's Ministers, to the King of Sueden or his Chancery) to be spurious: And the Time of his Majesty's Absence was fitly chosen by him to publish his scandalous Remarks, in order to make them have the Effect his wicked Heart desires: And therefore I shall apply to himself some of the last Words in his Libel.

" My just Indignation against this malicious Incendiary, has made my Observations upon his

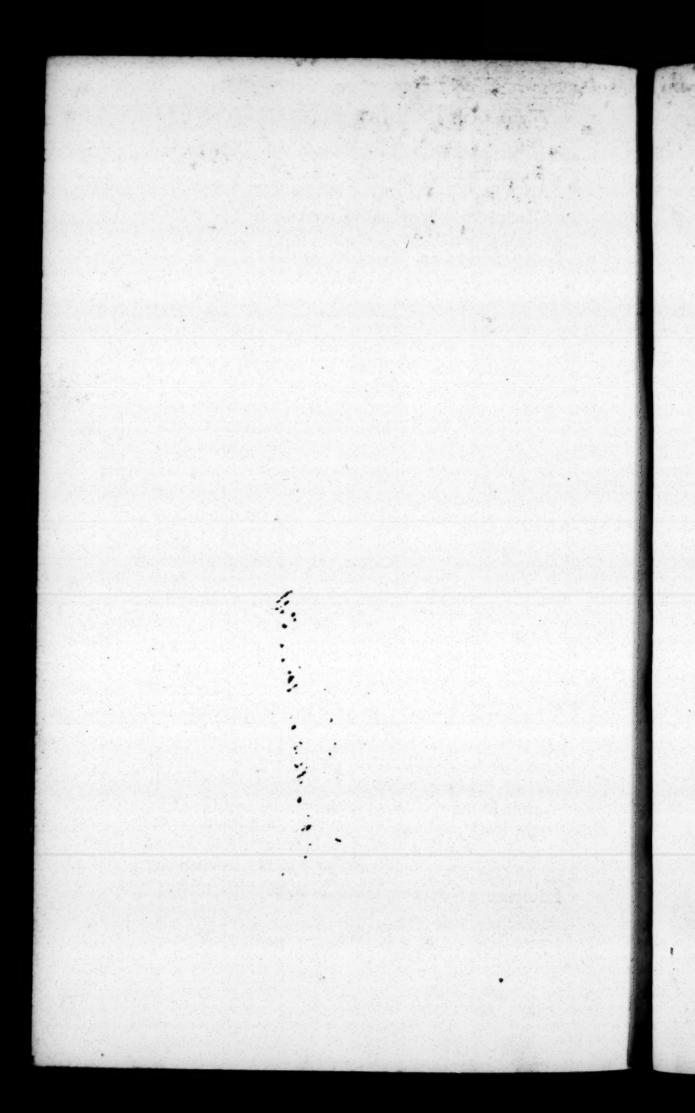
"Remarks more prolix than I at first designed:

"But if Forgeries of lesser Nature are severely pu-"nished, sure this, intended for so wicked a Pur-

" pose, and which may be attended by very bad Con-

" sequences, will not pass unpunished."

Not only the Laws of the Land, but the very Law of Nations, will not afford Protection to any Person whatsoever, that can be discovered to have had a hand in a Manifesto drawn up with all the Artifice possible, containing as many false Affertions, and as many rebellious Infinuations, as ever I remember to have feen crowded fo close together in my Life. I hope (now that it has been exposed) it may take a quite different Turn from what the Remarker expected; and both encourage his Majesty in the Prosecution of his Quarrel with the King of Sueden, (unless he hearkens to Reason) and justify him in the Opinion of his own Subjects, and of all the World, if after so many Endeavours for Peace, such great Provocations, and this Remarker's pestilent Libel to confummate all, he make use of those Means which God has put into his HANDS, to curb the Infolence of His and the Nation's Enemies.



# NARRATIVE

OF THE

# LIFE and DEATH

OF

# JOHN RHINHOLDT Count PATKUL,

A Nobleman of LIVONIA, Who was broke alive upon the Wheel in Great Poland, Anno 1707.

Together with the

Manner of his EXECUTION:

Written by the Lutheran Minister who assisted him in his last Hours.

Faithfully translated out of a High-Dutch Manuscript, and now published for the Information of Count Gyllenborg's English Friends.

### By L. M.

Regibus Boni quam Mali suspectiores sunt. Gratia Oneri, Ultio in Quastu habetur.

TACITUS.

The THIRD EDITION.

LONDON: Printed in the YEAR 1738,

### To the BOOKSELLER.

Mr. Goodwin,

YOU tell me you are importuned every Day by Persons of Distinction, to publish some Account of the Life and Death of Count Patkul; and you have importuned me, in your Twen, to furnish you with such Memoirs as I had by me relating to Sueden, wherein that unfortunate Gentleman has been mentioned, that you might, in some measure, satisfy the impatient Curiosity of your Friends. I have yielded to your repeated Desires with too much Haste for a Performance of this Kind, wherein it was necessary to add a few Reflections naturally arising from the Subject: But knowing how great the Expectations were, of some very ill-minded Men among us, and how great the Apprehensions of many good ones, from this King of Sueden, and his designed Expedition, I would not delay it. Gentlemen of both these Sorts may from hence learn what they are to fear, or hope for, from a Magnanimity so wrong turn'd; and an utter Ignorance of all Laws and Liberties; with an Impatience of Contradiction beyond what has appeared in the World these five hundred Years past. If your Profit may be joined with other People's Pleasure and Instru-Etion, by this my Compliance with your earnest Request, I have my Ends, and I hope you have yours. I am,

Your affectionate Friend,

and Servant.



# Short Narrative

OFTHE

LIFE and DEATH of Count Patkul.



HE ruining of all the old Nobility and Gentry of Sueden, by the Reduction, Refumption, or Re-union of the Crown-Lands, (for it had all these Names) caused there such an odd Kind of

universal Misery and Desolation, that the like was never before known in any Part of Europe. It fell heaviest upon the most Noble and Wealthy of that Kingdom; whose Families, from the greatest Affluence, were immediately reduced to the utmost Degree of Poverty: And such Numbers of Gentlemen were oppressed by this Project, that the Clamours in all the Provinces and Towns, of Persons of the best Quality perishing for want of Bread, was enough to have moved the most obdurate Hearts to Pity and Compasfion.

One might have feen those of the first Quality, who but a few Months before had lived in the highest Splendor, in well-furnish'd Palaces, attended by numerous Domesticks, provided of large and magnificent Services of Plate, now (in a manner) begging with their Wives and Children, with scarce sufficient Cloaths to cover them.

Several

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Several of the poor Noblemen and Gentlemen wander'd thro' the neighbouring Countries in this fad Condition, imploring the Commiseration and Assistance of all good People, and sending up their frequent Looks and Groans to Heaven; while others were forced to undergo the Weight of their Calamities at home, if that can be properly called Home, where the Miserable have neither Means nor Dwelling.

And the most grievous Circumstance (among many bad ones) was this: That the Persons thus treated were for the most part such whose Families had merited best from the Crown, and had spent

their Blood and Fortunes in its Service.

This Destruction of all the better Sort drew along with it that of those who depended on them; such as their Creditors, their Relations and Friends who were bound for them; of insinite Numbers of Manusacturers, Merchants, and Traders employ'd by them; and, in short, exceeded in most Mens Opinion, any of those (hitherto esteemed) the severest of God's Judgments, War, Pestilence, and Famine.

The Parliaments of Sueden, (named there the Estates) were made subservient to the Execution of this inhuman Design; which in their several Sessions between the Years 1680 and 1687, they brought to the Persection it was then in; and did withal so thoroughly rivet the Work of their own Enslaving, that all suture Meetings of Parliament were render'd unnecessary. There is not henceforth any Occasion to make them so much as the Covers for tyrannical Proceedings, or Screens between the King and the People. A fatal Document, how the very best Institutions (when perverted) are most capable of being employ'd to

the

the Accomplishment of the worst Ends and the

greatest Mischiefs.

It will be needless to enlarge upon the Particulars, and the Methods taken in this Reduction. all the Books which have given any late Accounts of Sueden being full of them; only in short, That after the War, King Charles XI. (Father of the present King) imputed the ill State the Kingdom was then in, (viz. in the Year 1680) to the foregoing evil Counfels of the Prime Noblemen, Senators, and Ministers; and caused a select Committee out of each of the three Estates, to meet and fearch the Registers, (wherein every Senator fets his Hand to the Advice he gives) and to compute the Damage proceeding, or supposed to proceed, from every Advice; according to which they taxed each Senator (in proportion) towards making it good; which their whole Fortunes (that were hereupon taken from them) were found infufficient to make Satisfaction for; there being no Rebate for any Sums which the Crown owed to them.

After some time a College of Reductions was instituted, wherein all Donations of the Crown, for several past Generations, were re-assumed without any further Enquiry.

And all Crown-Lands, tho' purchas'd from the Crown, which lay within fix long Miles of

any of the King's Castles.

As also all other Crown-Lands which were judged to have been sold at an Under-Value: And this rated according to the present Improvement, not what they were first bought at. In this Case indeed the King allowed 5 l. per Cent. to him that had paid down ready Money; but if the Income had exceeded that Interest (as it commonly did after so long a Tract of Time) 8 l. per

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Cent. was exacted for the Interest of the Overplus from the Day of the Purchase, which eat out the whole Estate, and so the Lands infallibly returned to the Crown. Nay, it was a great Favour if the Crown accepted of the Estate for the supposed Debt, without charging any other Estate the Purchaser was possessed of, to make good the Desiciency.

At first about 700 Guilders per Annum was allowed to such poor Purchasers, as a Maintenance to them and their Families; but this was presently, in another Session of Parliament, taken

from them, and given to the Crown.

Nothing but the most arbitrary Government (supported by the Face of a Parliament, and a real Army in Time of a profound Peace) could have subsisted after such an exorbitant Seizure of the Subject's Property. But the entire Subversion of Laws has now (after 36 Years) filenced the Clamours of the Persons concerned: Most of them are in their Graves, and their Children have forgot their Ancestors were ever Freemen. And if some of them remember it, 'tis to little or no Purpose; for these re-united Crown-Lands are now applied to the Maintenance of this constant Standing Army, wherein both Officers and Soldiers live upon the refumed Farms, and their Income passes not through the Hands of cheating Agents or Treasurers; so that their Subsistence comes in due time to them net, and without any Deductions; which makes amends for the Smallness of it, and keeps the Officers at home.

At the Time when this Resumption and Reunion began in old Sueden, Livonia was involved in the like Calamity, with the Addition of many other intolerable Oppressions and Exactions heap'd upon the Inhabitants. Here not only the Nobi-

# Death of Count Patkul. 391

lity and Gentry were reduc'd to Beggary, in order to put all the opulent Subjects upon the same foot, but all Degrees of People were oppress'd without Distinction.

Livonia is a large and fertile Province on Germany Side of the Baltick; 'tis an Acquisition of Sueden at several times, partly by Compact, and partly by Conquest (within somewhat more than the Compass of this last Century) from the Poles and Muscovites: These took it from the Knights of Jerusalem, who had long been Possessor of it; but (after those Knights were extirpated) could not keep it from the Suedes, who promised the Inhabitants better Usage than they had from their former Masters. A Promise seldom kept with any conquered Country; and never after the Mo-

ther Nation has loft its own Privileges.

The Livonian Nobility and Gentry had more to fay for themselves than the Suedes; that Province being not bound by a Suedish Parliament, but having a Parliament of its own; and therefore (in hopes of some Ease and Relief) they sent a Deputation of felect Members of their own Body to make their Remonstrances to the Suedist These carried a pathetick Memorial with Court. them, fetting forth the very great Hardships they laboured under; not without some oblique Reflections on what had been done, even in Old Sue-Which Memorial was fo strongly worded, and contained so many severe Truths, that it gave great Offence to the Projectors at Stockholm, and induced them to perfuade the King to oblige those principal Persons who had signed it, either to make good the Allegations, or to answer for the Calumnies contained in it. The first of these was eafy enough, had there been equal Judges to hear the Cause.

John Reynouldt Count Patkul, a young Gentleman of an antient, noble, and rich Family: He had a graceful Person, ready Wit, fine Address, and great Parts, improved by good Learning, and Knowledge of the World; but above all, was remarkable for being a true Lover of his Country's Liberties. This Gentleman, (together with some other Counsellors of State) was employed by the Livenian Nobility to draw up their Memorial; and the Wording of it (which was as much approved by the Livenians, as condemned by the Court of Sueden,) was supposed to have been the peculiar Work of his Brains and Pen. He therefore, (together with several others

of the chief Persons concern'd)
went to Stockholm by Order: Where
he demeaned himself so extraordinarily handsomely, and with al cou-

ragiously, that King Charles the XIth, (tho' he difliked his Cause) was very much pleas'd with his Behaviour. He was very familiar with the King, who took fo much Delight in his Manner of pleading for diffressed Livonia, that when fome of the King's Ministers argued against Patkul with more Warmth, perhaps, than Truth, the King gently clapp'd him on the Shoulder, faying, Courage, Patkul; Behave thy felf like a brave and bonest Man in thy Country's Cause. More than one Attempt was made to gain him to the Court Party; but when they found he was inflexible, and that the Affection he had for his Country's Liberties was predominant to all other Considerations, the Ministers began in good Earnest to study his Ruin; and this good Dispofition of the King's was foon cooled by the Representations of the Projectors; who told his Majesty their Scheme must be supported, whatever it cost, else he must want both Power and Money: That the Principal Opposers of it must be oppress'd in the severest Manner, to the End the Subjects might be convinced no Remonstrances should avail them in the least, and thereby be discouraged from any Attempts of like Nature for the suture.

Patkul being a Man of great Forefight, was early aware of these Practices against him; and finding that the Courtiers were resolved to proceed to the utmost Extremity, and that he was likely to be charged with Sedition, upon Pretence that he and his Companions could not fully justify (upon the fpot) all the Particulars contained in the Memorial, (when perhaps he had but too well justified it for the King's and Ministers Ends) he prudently and fecretly withdrew; not waiting for the Execution of the Sentence of Death, and Confiscation of Goods, which was pronounced against him, and two or three of his Associates; for one of them, whose Name was Schlippenbach, was absolved, because he recanted his Part in the Memorial; that is, he deferted his Brethren, and the Cause of his Country.

The King, though far from being in his own Temper a merciful Man, was yet convinced in his Conscience that he was egregiously in the wrong, and would not put to Death those two or three which were in his Power, only doom'd them to perpetual Imprisonment.

April, 1697. At the time of his Death, (which happen'd about two Years and a half after) his Confessor put him in mind of these worthy Sufferers; and laid it home to him, that he ought to pardon them; upon which he signed an Instrument for their Release. He had been

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inexorable all his Life-time, not only to the Cries of his miferable abused Subjects, but to the continued Prayers and Tears of his incomparable Queen, who often, on her Knees, 'tis said, intreated him to shew Mercy to his poor People, and to restore them to their Estates and Privileges; the like Request she made upon her Death-bed to her Son, the present King of Sueden, but with equal ill Success.

As to Count Patkul, 'tis confidently affirmed and believed by the Suedes, that King Charles the XIth himself gave him warning to retire in time; together with his Consent, that he might go and serve any other Prince he pleas'd, principally recommending to him the Czar of Muscovy. So glad was the King to be rid of so great an Obstacle to his arbitrary Proceedings, and yet so loth to destroy unjustly a Person of such rare Abili-

ties and Honesty.

Being thus forced to quit Sueden and Livonia his native Country, where he was Master of a very great Estate, (most of the Revenues of which he found means to receive abroad) he was exceedingly effeemed and careffed in all the foreign Courts where he took shelter; and employ'd by the feveral Princes in their Wars and Negotiations, for both which he was very well qualified: But the greatest Use he made of his Interest, was to engage those Sovereigns to intercede for his Pardon, and his being restored to the Favour of the Court of Sueden: (For the prefent King Charles the XIIth, upon his Accession to the Crown, had pardoned most of the other Livonian noble Prisoners, in a general Amnesty he published, yet excepted out of it Count Patkul, because he had fled:) But all they could do was to no purpose; the King remained obdu-

rate as to Patkul. Some fay, that Count Piper, his first Minister, was afraid of the great Genius and Abilities of Patkul, and inspired the King with these cruel Sentiments and Resolutions in relation to him; as fearing that Patkul, if he were once pardoned, would foon become chief Favourite. The young King having one Day in Discourse commended Patkul's great Abilities, and faid, What a pity 'tis that Patkul is not an bonest Man? If he were, he wou'd make a Servant fit for the greatest Prince in the World: These Words, which the King had let fall in Piper's hearing, alarm'd that jealous Minister so much, that he took care to represent Patkul's Actions always in the worst Light he could, and kept up the Refentments of a paffionate young King to the height, hindring the Effect of the Interceffions of the Emperor, and of almost all the Princes of Christendom in his behalf, both before and after he came into King Charles's Power.

Patkul hereupon transferr'd his Allegiance, and took fervice with King Augustus, and the Czar of Muscovy, whose Ambassador he was to the King of Poland, at the time he was feized and put in Prison by the latter. This Seizure had been defired and confented to, during the extravagant Mirth at an Entertainment in Poland, given to both Kings in the time of an Interview, upon Infinuation that he had made mischief between For Patkul's Honesty and Integrity nethem. ver left him; he could not endure to fee (much less to be an Actor in) any thing he thought mean and dishonourable, and often found fault with what was amiss in their Dealings and Oeconomy; and spoke his mind so freely to these Princes, as to their little Regard to the Faith of Treaties, that he vexed them both. They neither of them

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liked

liked his free Temper, though they had often made use of his Person, and his Money; and thus at last were the Occasion of his Ruin and Death, which they neither of them intended. For when the Heat of their Passion was over. they were convinced they themselves were in fault, not he; and the Esteem they had for his Parts and Probity, took its own place again with them; but they repented when it was too late. King Charles's March into Saxony was fudden, and altogether unexpected; and when he came thither, he foon became absolute Master of every thing. He found Patkul in a Prison, where King Augustus had put him, rather with an Intent to humble him a little, than to ruin him; but this King's Measures of every Kind were broken to pieces.

Patkul had ferved as a Major-General, and a Lieutenant-General, in all those Wars; but always desiring and endeavouring at a Reconciliation with Sueden, not by betraying any Trust reposed in him, but openly and honourably. This (as has been said before) could by no means be effected. The King of Sueden, and his Ministers, were most obstinately bent against him; no Prayers, no Money, no Humiliations, no Intercessions of the greatest Potentates in Europe, could prevail over the interessed Views of his Enemies, and the high Spirit and harsh Temper of

the King.

Though he had been excepted out of the first general Perdon, yet upon the breaking out of the War, when the King published his Avocatoria, for all his Subjects to return out of foreign Service, Patkul's Enemies (in order to enhance his Crime) caused him to be summoned by Name in these Avocatoria, though at that time apparently

none of the King of Sueden's Subject; and the Suedish Ministers knew he durst not, if he had ever so great an Inclination, return to Sueden, being already a condemned Person, who wou'd have been executed as a Traitor, had he obey'd the Avocatoria: But they were resolved to make sure Work with him; and upon his not appearing, got him a second time condemn'd to Death

for his Contumacy.

What could a Gentleman of Honour do otherwife than Count Patkul did in his Circumstances? He used all lawful Means to preserve his own and his Country's just Liberties; he joined in dutiful Remonstrances, he pleaded in Person for them; and when he faw thefe Methods were confidered as capital Crimes, and that he was doom'd to die for them, by the Advice of his King he withdrew into a Place of Safety. He enter'd indeed into the Service of foreign Princes. who before that Time had been at War with Sueden, and had promised him to restore Livonia to its antient Freedom, tho' they could not accomplish it. But upon the present King of Sueden's Accession to the Crown, he had used all Endeavours (even by the Consent of those Princes) to be reconciled, tho' upon the hard Condition of acquiefcing in what had been done against his Country. He and all the World thought he had a Right to transfer his Allegiance, when his first Master would not afford him a Protection which he had not forfeited. Notwithstanding which, fo great was his Inclination to be restored to the King of Sueden's Favour and Service, that he valued no Riches or Preferments elsewhere in comparison. He was unfortunate to the last Degree; for he might have come out of the Prison wherein he was confin'd, if he wou'd;

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but he scorned to do it before he had a Reparation of Honour. In the mean time the King of Sueden came, and nothing would ferve this irritated Monarch, but poor Patkul's Life: The delivering of him up was made one of the Articles of the Treaty, tho' much contested by King Augustus; who alledged that it was a Violation of the Laws of Nations, Patkul being then the Czar's Plenipotentiary and Ambassador. But King Charles protested he would not leave Saxony without him; and accordingly he was put into the King of Sueden's Power on the 7th of April 1707. From that Time to Michaelmas following he was kept in Custody of several Regiments, during the long March of that Gallant Army which the King of Sueden had gathered together in Saxony; and then the King being advanced as far as Casimir in Great Poland, was refolv'd to make him a horrid Example of his Cruelty, (falfly called his Justice) and had him executed in a small Village upon the March, to the great Difgust of the Army, which could not forbear shewing its Diflike at fo unufual and terrible a Spectacle. But you shall have a more particular Relation of the Manner of his Death, from the Chaplain who then affisted him; after I have taken notice of what our News-Papers, and the Suedish Partifans themselves have said of this Affair.

In a Book called The State of Europe, [March 1707. p. 135.] you will find the following Accounts.

"King Augustus has been obliged, by a law"less Necessity, to deliver up General Patkul to

"the Suedes, tho' he is very fensible that the

" Laws of Nations have been violated in this " Cafe. That Gentleman was Envoy Extraor-

"dinary of the Czar, and in that Respect his

" Person

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" Person ought to have been Sacred. But few

- " Men are capable of containing themselves
- " within Bounds during their Prosperity: The
- "Suedes act as if they were persuaded that For-
- tune will be always at their Command. But
- " as all Sublunary Things are liable to Changes and Viciffitudes, it may very well happen
- "that they will repent (some time or other)
- " the ill Precedent they have made at this time;
- " and (if I should live till then) I cou'd not but
- " bles the Divine Providence for it. Princes
- " are (after all) but creeping Worms before the
- " Almighty, and no less subject to the Rules of
- " Justice than the rest of Mortals. But some
- think those Rules were not made for them; and
- "their Passion and Interest are the only Guides of
- " their Actions.
  - " Letters from Poland tell us,
- " That Lieutenant-General Patkul Id. p. 450.
- " was broke alive upon the Wheel, Oct. 1707.
- " and afterwards Beheaded and
- " Quartered, as a Rebel to his Sovereign, and
- " the chief Promoter of this War, &c.
  - " The late General Patkul has
- " made fo much Noise in the Id. p. 31, 32,
- "World, and bis Death is so re- 33,34. Vol. 19.
- " markable, that it will not be Jan. 1708.
- " amiss to give some Account of that Unfortu-
- " nate Man.
- "We could wish it had been written by an im-
- " partial Hand: For one who appears fo entirely
- " in the Interest of Sueden, may have disguised
- " the Truth in feveral Respects. Whatever it
- " be, 'tis certain that Patkul was Born a Subject
- " to the King of Sueden, and that he was put to
- " death as a Rebel; but we do not defign to
- examine here, how far it is lawful for a Man to

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" transfer his Allegiance, nor whether or no the " Practice of most Nations in the World, as to " that Point, has any reasonable Grounds. But " I make bold to fay, that whofoever will en-" quire into the original Cause of Societies and " Politick Government, will be tempted to be-" lieve, that the Severity used in this Case is " hardly to be justified before the Tribunal of " found Reason, and natural Equity. The Roman "Orator had a better Idea of the Liberty of " Mankind, than our Modern Politicians; and " affirms, That no Man ought to be constrain'd ae gainst his Will to remain in a Society, nor to quit it unless be pleases. But let us fee what the Suedes themselves fay of

Patkul.

" John Rheynouldt Patkul was born in Livonia, " of a Noble and Honourable Family: His Pa-" rents took a great deal of Care to give him a " good Education, to which Nature contribu-" ted very much; fo that he learn'd the Scien-" ces with a great deal of Ease. He was very " virtuous during his Youth, and was blameable " only for his Avarice. He travell'd much in-" to Foreign Countries, and apply'd himself to " acquire the Languages, and a confiderable " Knowledge in the Affairs of State; in which " he succeeded very well. He was very plea-" fant in Conversation, and knew perfectly to " give an Appearance of Truth to the greatest " Falsities; but was impatient of Contradiction. " He began to raise his Fortune in Livonia, and " was made first a Captain in 1695. He and " Three other Livonians, as Counsellors of State, " fent a Memorial to King Charles the XIth, " concerning the State of the Country, which " was found to be of dangerous Consequence. "Upon this they were fent for to Stockholm, to " declare themselves more expresly upon it. " They went thither accordingly. But Patkul " perceiving that he cou'd not justify what was " writ, and that he was likely to be charged with " Sedition, retired privately, without staying " for the Execution of the Sentence, by which " he and his two Friends were condemned to " Death and Confiscation; but the Third, called Schlippenbach, was absolved, because he " did not approve the above-mention'd Memo-" rial, and was afterwards a Major-General in " the Suedish Service. Charles the XIth, mix-" ing Clemency with Justice, did not execute " the Sentence to the Rigor, and defigned only " to have kept them in perpetual Prison. "When Charles the XIIth, the present King, " came to the Throne in 1697, he pardoned the " rest at his Coronation, but excepted Patkul be-" cause he had fled; and having carry'd himself " in fuch a manner as he durst not return to his " Country, he went from one Court to another " to follicit a War against his native Country, " and fought all Occasions to annoy it. At last " he came to King Augustus's Court in Poland, " where he found most Credit, and by his smooth " Tongue made him believe that it was eafy to " reduce Livonia under the Dominion of Poland; " and fo much the more, that there were no "Troops to defend it, and that the Inhabitants " were fo disaffected, that they wanted only an " Opportunity to shake off the Suedish Yoke. " He added, that the King of Sueden had no "Troops on foot, except a few Regiments in " the Country, [or Militia] which being undif-" ciplin'd, were not in a condition to do any fer-

" vice; that his Revenues were so much exhaust-

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"ed, as made the King unable to bring Armies into the Field, and much more to equip a fufficient Fleet to transport Troops into Livonia. By these and such like Arguments, he imposed upon King Augustus, who (as he has since declared) could never have believed the King of Sueden to have had so many, or so well disciplin'd Troops; or that his Subjects had been so loyal, or his Revenues so considerable, as to carry on the War in such a Manner, as he

" has fince found he did.

" Patkul's Representations prevailed so far, as " to kindle a War between King Augustus and " Sueden; and that Prince (following Patkul's " Advice) fent some Thousands of Saxons into " Suedisk Courland, on Pretence of keeping those " People in Obedience; but his true Defign " was, to make himself Master of Livonia. " Patkul followed this Detachment, and was " their Counsellor and Leader. A little after " the Beginning of 1700, when all was in Peace, " and the Suedes expected no fuch Thing, the " Saxons fell into Livonia, and took the Forts of " Dunamund and Cobrots; after which Patkul " attacked Riga, the Capital Town of the Coun-" try, and its chief Defence; but miscarrying " in his Defign, he fatisfied himself to ravage " the Country with his Saxon Troops, and ad-" vised those of Livonia to submit to King Au-" gustus; alledging it was impossible for them to receive any Relief at that Season of the Year, " promis'd them a mild Government under his " Administration, and affured them of King " Augustus's Protection; and several other things " of that Nature. He wrote also to his Mother, " who liv'd further up in the Country, fent for " her to come to him, and pretended he had 66 taken

" taken Arms for her Defence; but she abhor-" red him fo much, that fhe would not own him. " At the beginning of this War, the King of " Sueden published his Avocatoria, by which he " ordered all his Subjects in King Augustus's " Service (and Patkul by Name) to return to " Sueden, on Pain of Death; [Mark, that he had before, at his Accession to the Crown, excepted bim out of the general Pardon, tho' his Father, King Charles the XIth, had given him Leave to quit Sueden.] "But he continuing in his Rebellion " and Disobedience, was a second time con-" demned to die. This made no Impression on " him, fo that he continued his Practices against " his Country; and instead of endeavouring to " recover his Prince's Favour, he perfuaded "King Augustus to besiege Riga the beginning " of that Year; but he was obliged to raise the " Siege again in few Weeks after he had begun it. " Denmark began at the same Time to raise " fome Troubles in Holftein, which were foon " after appealed. 'Tis needless to mention the " Reasons of those Troubles, nor how they be-" gan, fince these Things are well enough "known; but only that Patkul continually en-" deavoured to add Fewel to the Flames. " The Czar being perfuaded by General Pat-" kul to enter into a War against Sueden, raised " a formidable Army to that End, and pushed " on the War with Vigor, in Conjunction with

"The Czar being perluaded by General Pat"kul to enter into a War against Sueden, raised
"a formidable Army to that End, and pushed
"on the War with Vigor, in Conjunction with
"King Augustus; and Patkul not only commanded the Saxon Troops as Major-General,
in the Actions which passed in Poland, but
went Journies for the Czar and King Augustus,
"to advance their military Preparations, having
a persect Knowledge of the State of the King
of Sueden's Forces; so that all Enterprizes he
"judged

" judged necessary were approved, and put in " Execution against his Country as far as possies ble. When any Treaty of Accommodation " with Sueden was fet on foot, he constantly op-" posed the same, and was the Cause that the War in the North continued fo long. " Saxony he dispersed several injurious Libels " against his own Country. In 1702 he enter'd " into the Czar's Service, because his Ambition " and Avarice were infatiable; and the Czar " granting him better Terms, he left the Court of Saxony, with which he could not agree. " Being very fit for Negotiations, the Czar " fent him to feveral Courts of Germany to ne-" gotiate his Affairs; and there he furnished his " Army with foreign Officers, and other Neces-" faries. After this he returned to Russia to give " the Czar an account of his Success, and in a " little time the Czar fent him as his Plenipo-" tentiary to King Augustus, where he also com-" manded the auxiliary Troops which were fent to that Prince. In 1704 he was detached " with some Thousands of Men to besiege Posen, " but was obliged by the Suedes to break up that " Siege, and retired into Saxony, where he loft " his Credit more and more, and embroiled " himself with that Court, by endeavouring to " create a Difunion betwixt King Augustus and " the Czar; and by upbraiding the Saxons with " not observing their Treaties faithfully, nor " pushing on the War with Vigor against Sueden; " fo that at last he enter'd into a Treaty with the " Emperor, and put the Muscovite Auxiliaries " into his Service. Matters being thus, King " Augustus went to meet the Czar in Lithuania, " and being diffatisfied with Patkul, obtained " the Czar's Consent to put him in Prison: Ac-" cordingly he was fent to the Castle of Sonne-" steyn;

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steyn; towards which a certain Paper contri-" buted very much, which Patkul had writ, " about the Affairs and Government of Saxony, " and reflected much upon King Augustus and " his Ministry. His treacherous Temper ap-" peared yet further by the following Instance. "While he was Prisoner in the Castle of Sonne-" steyn, he prevailed with the Governor to suffer " him to make his Escape, on condition of pay-" ing him a certain Sum, which the Governor " agreed to: But Patkul, instead of making his " Escape, gave an account to the Court at Dref-" den of the Governor's Treachery, though he " had always been civil to him; upon which the

"Governor loft his Head. " A little after King Augustus ordered Patkul " to be released, but he would not come out of " Prison without a full Satisfaction for the Af-

" front he pretended to have received; and " there he continued through his Pride, which

" was his predominant Passion, the chief Cause " of all his Misfortunes, and of his Ruin at last:

" Though he was otherwise capable of every thing, " being well versed in the Affairs of State and

" War. After this he was transported to the " Castle of Coningsteyn; and the Suedes entering

" Saxony, which brought on a Treaty betwixt the " King of Sueden and King Augustus, one of the

" Articles was, that Patkul should be delivered " to the King of Sueden. King Augustus, how-

" ever, let some Months pass, before he would " deliver him up; alledging for Excuse, that

" he was in the Czar's Service: But the King of "Sueden infifting upon it, he was at last put

" into the Hands of General Meyerfeldt, whose

" Regiment of Suedes lay nearest, and was car-" ried into Poland with the Army, where he was

" always kept a Prisoner. The Day appointed

" for his Execution approaching, he was fent to " the Regiment of Dragoons of Hielm, and a " Priest was order'd to tell him in the Evening " that he must prepare for Death. This fur-" prized him at first, and occasion'd him to utter " fome incoherent Discourse. But the Priest " talk'd to him fo, that he immediately laid a-" fide all Thoughts of the World, and next " Morning fent for the Priest, and receiving the " Communion from him, faid, he was well fatif-" fied to die, and that he expected his last Hour " with Impatience. He slept very well the " Night following; and better, as was observed, " than he had done at any Time after he had re-" ceived his Sentence. [He received no Sentence, till the Minute be was Broke alive.] " Next Day " he was carried to the Place of Execution; " and endured with great Firmness of Mind, " the Punishments which were inflicted upon "him. Thus he was broke alive upon the " Wheel, and his Head being cut off, was fix'd " on a Pole; his Body was Quarter'd, and laid " upon Wheels on the 20th, [it should be the " 10th] of October last, N.S. in a Village of " Upper Poland, betwixt Stupea and Casimir. " During his Imprisonment, he confess'd he had " done many Things against his Country, and " that he had very little Hopes of escaping Pu-" nishment. He made a considerable Present to " the Priest who attended him to the Place of " Execution; he gave Money to the Execu-" tioner, that he might do his Office with all " possible Speed, and not suffer him to languish " long under his Pain.

Thus far the Suedish Narration; which in many Places is notoriously false, in others very short, leaving out all the cruel Circumstances of his Death; and by the whole Tenor of it, 'tis apparent,

apparent, that the Writer was put to all the Shifts imaginable, to justify in some Measure the King of Sueden's Procedure. You may see, however, that Patkul's great and good Qualities were so many, that he is forced to own them all along in his whole Narration; here you may believe him, whatever you do in any thing else: The whole Drift of his Paper being to dispraise him, and make him appear as black and unworthy as possible, that he might thereby alleviate that Load of Insamy which lay upon the King of Sueden, even in the Opinion of his own Army, and Subjects, for treating him in the manner he did.

In a late Book called, The History of the Wars of Charles the XIIth King of Sueden, written, as 'tis pretended, by a Scotch Gentleman in that King's Army, very partially, with design to asperse the Guarantees of the Treaty of Alt-Ranstadt, and to extol the Actions of the King of Sueden at any rate, in order to recommend him to the People of Great-Britain, you will find what follows.

"There was at that time, in the King Pag. 20. "of Poland's Troops, a Livonian Gen-

" tleman, a Subject of the King of Sueden, but

" who upon former Discontents had quitted the

"Suedish Interest, and was entertained by the King of Poland in the Quality of a Major-

"General. It was faid, this Gentleman had

"Liberty given him from the late King of Sue-

" den, Charles the XIth, to enter into the Ser-

" vice of the Czar of Muscovy, as a kind of

"Banishment for some Offence he had given the

"Crown of Sueden, in opposing the King at the "Time when the Act for Re-assumption of

" Crown-Lands was put in Execution by that

es Prince.

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"I confess that all the while I liv'd in "Sueden, I could never learn the true History of "General Patkul's quitting the Service of Sueden. "Perhaps it was generally concealed; heavile

"Perhaps it was generally concealed; because they would not seem to say that the King had not

" sufficient Provocation to the Severity which he

" used afterwards with this Gentleman when he fell

into his Hands.

"Be it as it will, it was generally believed in

"Sueden that this Gentleman was a great Instru-

" ment, I do not fay, in first stirring up the King of Poland to the Design of breaking with

"Sueden, for it was apparent that had other

" Causes and Springs; but in giving that King

"Encouragement to the particular Invalion of

" Livonia; and that he persuaded the King to

" believe, that the Nobility of Livonia, baving been miserably spoiled of their Estates, and im-

" poverished by the said Re-assumption of Crown-

" Lands, were generally Malecontents like him-

" felf, and would revolt to the Poles, as foon as

" they faw an Army sufficient to defend them.

This, I fay, was generally reported and believed.

"Certain it is, that General Patkul accompanied the Savon General Flowing in the first Expe-

"the Saxon General Flemming in the first Expe-

" dition against Riga, and was sent out with a "Detachment of 1500 Horse and Dragoons, to

" range over the open Country, and give the

" Livonian Nobility an Occasion to revolt, if

" they were fo inclined; and, no doubt, was

" diligent to perfuade them to do fo, though

" without Effect.

Pag. 245.

"King of Sueden's Demands of King of Poland at Alt-Ranstadt.

" All Deferters and Traytors of

Art. 5. " the King of Sueden's Subjects, and

" particularly Reinholdt Count Patkul, shall be

" delivered to the King of Sueden.

ee It

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"It must be confessed, some of these Pag. 246.

on King Augustus, and such as nothing but the

" Miseries of his Saxon Dominions could have extorted; but above all, the delivering up

" Count Patkul, which (it is owned) to a Man

" of Honour was very fevere.

" The King of Sueden, who has as

" much Generofity in his Temper, as Pag. 251,

" Fire in his Resolution, yielded in 252.

" fome Points to King Augustus; but as to the

" Affair of Count Patkul, the King of Sueden

"would abate nothing, declaring he would ne-

" ver quit Saxony without him; nor could the

"Intercession of any of the Saxon Court, or of

" fome Princes who concerned themselves for

"that unfortunate Gentleman, prevail with the

"King to defift from the Demand, or to spare

" him when he had him in Cuftody. He was

accordingly delivered to the King of Sueden

" the 7th of April, 1707.

" We were now entred into Poland,

" and the first Thing of Moment that Pag. 275.

" happen'd in our Army was the Execution of

"General Count Patkul: The King had fo

" highly refented his Conduct in the beginning of

" the War, looking upon him to have been the

" principal Mover of the Invasion of Livonia by

"King Augustus, that no Intercession could ob-

" tain his Pardon; and being his Suedish Ma-

" jefty's Subject, the King thought it proper to

" fhow that Severity to him, to let all those who,

" being Subjects of Sueden, shou'd fight against

" their Master, know what they might depend

" upon. He was broke upon the Wheel at Ca-

" simir in Great Poland, the 10th of October,

" N. S. 1707. I need not enter farther into the

F f "Story;

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" Story; the Juftice of provoked Kings is not "Always to be censured or Examined into. Much " might be faid on both Sides. I acknow-" ledge, many honest Gentlemen in the King's " Army would have been very glad if his Ma-" jesty would have been pleased to have extended " his Mercy to that unfortunate Gentleman; but " it could not be obtained; and we had no more to do but to submit. I observed, the Army was very melancholy during this Execution. " Body took pleasure in it; nor can I say that we " had the usual Chearfulness among us for some " time afterwards; but the King had great Pro-" vocations. And by how much the Genius and "Capacities of this Person were extraordinary; and " that these had carried him an unusual Length, " (for he was supposed to have been the great Ma-" nager in forming the first Alliances against the "King,) by fo much greater was his Offence; " which his Majesty thought obliged him to the " highest Resentment, and that he ought to be " treated as a Rebel to his Natural Prince, and " as a Traytor to his Country, &c."

This is all this Author speaks of Patkul. And as much as he is bent to make the Panegyrick of the King of Sueden, one may perceive in it the Force of Truth, which bursts out in his Narration, and that even he, as well as the whole Suedish Army, could not endure or palliate the excessive Cruelty of his Hero. 'Twas a pity, that brave Army, which thus openly shew'd a Dislike of their Implacable Absolute Monarch's Proceedings, notwithstanding the just Dread they had of him, should from this Time forward suffer for the enormous Iniquity of their King: For that brave Army was soon after totally

#### Death of Count Patkul. 411

Remains of it that escaped with the King into Turkey, being since that Time, one way or other, extirpated. As if God Almighty had a mind to shew the World, that the very bearing with the Cruelty of their King, was a Sin not to be expiated, but by their bodily Punishment: And as to their King, I am persuaded his Life was continued to him rather as a Judgment, in being forced to receive so many sensible Mortisications, than as a Blessing: Since from that Day to this, he has never prosper'd; and he does not yet make use of the Time allotted him for Repentance; but hardens his Heart like Pharaoh, the more, for every Affliction which falls upon him.

A True Relation of the Death, and Manner of Execution, of the Famous JOHN RHEINHOLDT Count PATKUL.

N the Year 1707, the 28th of Sept. O. S. about Night-fall, Patkul was brought to the Regiment of Dragoons commanded by Colonel Nicholas Hielms, (then in Great Poland upon the March ) under the Guard of Thirty Men of Meyerfeldt's Regiment, wherein he had continued a Prisoner during several Months before. The Day following, being Michaelmas-Day, my Colonel told me privately (as foon as our Devotions in the Church were over) That Patkul was to die next Day, and therefore defired I would go and acquaint the Prisoner with this News, that he might prepare himself for Death. Accordingly I went to him about Three a-Clock Ff2 that

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that Afternoon; and having made my Compliments to Mr. Patkul, whom I found a-bed, I begg'd his Excuse for my Visit, because I supposed that an afflicted Spirit, like his, had great Need of fome Confolation drawn from the Word of God. To which he answer'd, I am extremely glad, Mr. Le Pasteur, that you come to see me, and thank you with all my Heart; for at present the Visits of Divines are most proper and agreeable to me. Pray, what News? I reply'd, that I defired to speak a few Words with him in private. As foon as he heard that, he got up, and made a Compliment to the Officer who guarded him in his Chamber, and with a gentle Nod of the Head defired his Absence; which I also seconded, by whispering the faid Officer in the Ear, and acquainting him with the Colonel's Orders that I should be alone with the Prisoner. As soon as the Officer had left the Room, Patkul took me by the Hand, and with a very melancholy Tone of Voice, Alas (faid he) my Dear Monfieur Le Pasteur, what have you to fay to me? Sir, reply'd I, I am commanded to bring you the fame Tidings, which the Prophet Isaiah formerly carried to King Hezekiah, Set thy House in Order, for thou must die, and not out-live To-morrow. At these Words he flung himself upon the Bed, and burst into Tears, which ran plentifully down his Cheeks. I began then to comfort him, by telling him, That I doubted not a Person so Wise and so Learned as he was, being withal so well instructed in the Christian Religion, would upon those Accounts, now look upon the End of his Days in this World with the greater Courage and Con-Alas! fays he, I know very well, the common Lot of all Mankind is to die; but the Manner of my Death will be too fevere, and too hard

hard for me to endure: And upon this he began again to weep bitterly. I reply'd, That I was altogether unacquainted with the Manner of his Death; but did firmly believe that it would be happy, and much more falutary to the Soul, than terrible to the Body. At this he rose, and joining his Hands, he faid, Grant, O Lord Jesus, that my End may be happy! After having leaned against the Wall a-while, he went on, O Augustus! Augustus! How wilt thou answer this at the Great Day? Alas! the Revolution in Sueden and Livonia has been the Source of my Misfortune. I begg'd of him then not to apply himself so much to worldly Affairs, but to think upon Eternity, during the fmall Time which remain'd for him to live. My Dear Monsieur Le Pasteur, reply'd he, fuffer me to vent what lies next my Heart; for this Heart of mine cannot be cured, except all the Filth it is fo full of be purged away. The Reducing of the Estates, which has been the undoing of Multitudes of poor People, has been the Occasion of the only Crime which is imputed to me. The deceas'd King of Sueden, clapping me upon the Shoulder, faid to me; Patkul, Defend the Rights of thy Country, like a Brave and Honest Man: How then could I do otherwise? But wicked Men have had the Shuffling of my Cards. God forgive Hastoer, who has contributed fo much to my Misfortunes: At first he instigated me, afterwards he deceived me, and at last he persecuted me. Well! well! I shall meet him shortly, with many more of my Adversaries, before the Tribunal of Jesus Christ. Bergeubeilm has also been very much my Enemy, but he had Orders to do what he has done. Sueden! Sueden! God Almighty knows, that I did not quit thy Territories with a glad Heart: Whither

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Whither could I fly? It was not poffible for me to hide my felf under Ground: I could not refolve to throw my felf into a Convent, because of my being a Protestant; and I could not remain in Safety with any of the Allies. They fay, that because I took Sanctuary among the King's Enemies, therefore I was the Occasion of this bloody War: But how can they draw that Confequence? I was there in the Condition of a poor persecuted Man, and not at all a Giver of Advice; no body judged me at that time capable of doing it, and in truth I was not. For before I came among the Saxons, every Thing was already concerted with Denmark: The Treaties with the Muscovites were figned, and I had not in the least any Authority or Reputation-Then I defired him to remember, that he plunged himself too deep in Difcourfes, which regarded only Temporal Affairs. But he taking me by the Hand, faid, —Allow me a little Time before I quite abandon worldly Things; after that, I affure you, I will not speak one Word more of them. What Countryman are you, Monsieur Le Pasteur? I am a Suede, born at Stockbolm, reply'd I. Well then (faid he) you please me the better for being so, because I am glad that a Suede may give a Report of me hereafter. I also have a Suedish Heart, and Suedish Inclinations; and altho' People will not believe it, God Almighty knows it's true, and you will be convinced of it by what I am going to fay to you. The miserable Condition wherein you now fee me, shall not hinder me from affuring you, that the Elector of Brandenburg is obliged to me for the Crown of Prussia. I am fure he is in his Conscience convinced of this: And indeed he offered me a very great Sum of Money, as a Recompence; but I made answer

to him, That the greatest Recompence he could bestow upon me for all my Services, would be for his Majesty to grant me his Intercession, that I might be reinstated in the Favour of his Suedish Majesty; which he also promised me, and Count Dobna spoke in my Favour at Stockholm as much as he could; but the Court of Sueden was deaf to all the Representations of that Envoy, which any way regarded me. Some time after (I may tell you without Vanity) I had an Opportunity of doing the late *Emperor* a fignal Piece of Service, in relation to Spanish Affairs, such as no other could have done for him; and he gave me by way of Recompence, a Bill for Fifty Thousand Crowns; but I took it and laid it at his Imperial Majesty's Feet, thanking him with the most profound Devotion, and requesting another kind of Paper from him. The Emperor thought I had not been content with the Sum. But I told him, that I defired nothing but his Recommendation to the Court of Sueden. You shall have it, replied the Emperor; and indeed I know that he both writ, and fent fuch a Letter of Recommendation; but in vain; there was no Grace or Pardon to be had for me.

That no Occasion might be let slip to set me right with the Court of Sueden, I went to Muscovy, when your Envoys were there; without doubt you have heard of it. Yes, Sir, replied I, I had the Honour to be the Chaplain to that Embassy, and remember to have seen you there at that Time. Are you the same Person who was there? (said he.) I thought indeed at first, I had seen you somewhere; I was there at that time seeking the Czar's Mediation to be restored to Favour; but as soon as I understood that your Envoys had Orders to demand the Delive-

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ry of my Person up to them, I was obliged to retire, and to live Incognito. Ever fince it has been given out that I stirr'd up the Czar, and incited him to that War; but it was Carlowitz, a Creature of King Augustus, that did that Piece of Work; and for my Part, I was always an Adviser of Peace: And I had contrived Matters fo, during the first Years of that War, that the King of Sueden should have for his Satisfaction Courland, Polish Livonia, and a part of Samogitia, in case he would make Peace. It was generally thought the Czar would never confent to these Terms; but when I made him the Proposal, he was fatisfied with it, and embracing me, gave me Thanks for my good Advice: But the King of Sueden would not comply with those Offers. Moreover, all the poor Suedish Prisoners, (whereof there are great Numbers in Muscovy,) will, I dare fay, give this Testimony of me, that I have done them a great many Kindnesses, and distributed among them in Charity feveral Thousands of Ducats. I can fafely aver, I have given away about a Hundred Thousand Ducats, in order to regain the King of Sueden's Favour: Would to God, I had been as solicitous to procure for my self the Divine Favour. Having said these Words, he began again to weep, and I did my best to comfort him, by affuring him that the Gate of Divine Mercy was still open for him; that he had yet Time enough left to fecure for himself an Entrance there; but that Time was precious, and not to be flung away. That is my only Confolation, fays he; but what troubles me most is, that I have more diligently served Men, than my God. Particularly, I have Reason to curse the Time wherein I applied my self to King Augustus's Service. God Almighty convert Nert him; he is neither faithful to God nor Man. As foon as the Peace with Sueden was concluded, he writ me a Letter, dated the 16th of February, defiring me to acquaint the Czar, that the Suedes had distributed their Arms up and down into Workmens Hands, in order to get them mended; and that their Officers were most of them sent abroad, partly to raise Recruits, and partly for other Affairs; therefore that the Czar would do well to come immediately with all his Forces, and break the Necks of his Enemies: And to this End he would give Orders to all the Gunsmiths and Workmen, not to finish any Piece of Work the Suedes should employ them in.

In my Answer to this Letter, I told him, I would have nothing to do in an Affair of this Nature, nor any more with him; and that he ought to keep better the Faith he had so lately given. This he took very ill from me; notwithstanding which, he has feveral times fince follicited me to concur in his wicked Defigns; but I always disapproved them. One Day I received a Letter, wherein was communicated to me a Project of a very extraordinary Nature; which Letter ended with these Words, ——In this manner, one may fay, that Augustus has gained more in one Night, than Charles has by so many bloody Battels, &c. 'Tis with Horror that I call to Mind. all these Villainous Tricks; and I heartily thank God that he has protected the King of Sueden, who, I can affure you, has very often been in extraordinary great Dangers. Great God! faid I, interrupting him, Has King Augustus no more regard to his Word? Alas! replied he to me, he is a profess'd Atheist, a Man without Piety; who values neither his Faith nor his Honour. One Day the late Emperor writ me a

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Letter, defiring me to do my Endeavour, after the handsomest way that I could, to persuade that King to amend his Life. I show'd him that Letter, but the Answer he gave me, laughing, was this; That old Fellow had better employ his Thoughts upon Purgatory, for he will come to that Place before me. Her Highness, the Electress Dowager, often spoke to me to the like Effect; and indeed, I employ'd my best Skill to that Purpose; but I thereby always drew Disgraces upon my felf; he has threatened me long fince, that he would be even with me one Day. He was in a great Streight at Warfaw for want of Money, at the time when the King of Sueden came thither from Lemberg; several of his Troops being about to defert him for that Reafon: At that time he earnestly defired me for God's fake to furnish him with some Money: I did fo, and gave him Four Hundred Thousand Crowns; but next Day I perceived that he had laid it out in magnificent Presents to certain great Ladies, and had bought One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Crowns Worth of Jewels to make a Hatband of. Being heartily vexed to fee him employ his Money to fo bad Purpofes, I made my Remonstrances to him upon that Head, and obliged him to restore those Jewels to the Jews, and take back his Money. For a little while he hid his Spite against me for doing this; but fwore to be revenged on me, and has made good his Oath too well, for my Misfortune. Would to God he had as punctually kept the good Promifes he has made, and his Faith and Honour. God Almighty will judge him. Potentes potenter punientur. But, Monsieur Le Pasteur, continued he, you have, I believe, fomething else to do at present, and not to hear these disagreeable Discourses.

Discourses. Sir, said I, I will return to you about a short Hour hence. Do so, says he, and if you can prevail with the Colonel to fuffer me to be alone, that I might not be interrupted in my Devotions, he will do me a fingular Kindnefs. I promised him to do my best, and so took my Leave. About feven a Clock at Night I return'd; and as foon as the Officer was gone out of the Chamber; Welcome, faid he, Mr. Le Pasteur, with a smiling Countenance, which denoted fomewhat of Contentment, I look upon you as an Angel of God. God be praifed, I find my Confcience very much eas'd, and methinks it is as if a great and a heavy Stone were removed from off my Breaft. I am very glad to die, for it is better to die than to remain long time in Prison. Alas! That my Death may be fuch a one as may be tolerable! Know you not. continued he, what Kind of Death I am to fuffer? 'Tis what I am altogether ignorant of, replied I; all that I know is, that it will be done without much Noise and Stir, for no body has as yet seen the Sentence. Must I then suffer Death, said he. without being fo much as heard, and without a Sentence? The Sentence is without doubt ready at Hand, reply'd I; but perhaps 'tis fealed up, and fent with Orders not to open it, till fuch time as it comes to be executed. That may be, faid he, but pray God they may not torment me a long time. I comforted him in the best Manner I could, and he cheer'd up himfelf, repeating among many other Passages of the Holy Scripture (whereof he had great Knowledge) thefe two Texts in Greek, Acts xiv. 22. Through great Tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of God. And Romans, Chap. viii. ver. 18. For I reckon that the Sufferings of this present time are not to be put in Balance with the

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the Glory which shall be revealed in us—. After this he asked me, whether he might have Paper and Ink; and when I told him, Yes; he defired me to write a few Words for him, and dictated to me that which follows. The last Will and Testament of Me the Underwritten, after what Manner I intend to dispose of what I may leave behind me after my Death. I defire that King Augustus would confult his own Conscience, and restore to my two Cousins, who are now in the Service of Sueden, those Sums of Money which he owes to me, and which amount to Fifty Thousand Crowns; and I desire that his Suedish Majesty would most graciously grant his Assistance towards the Execution of this my Will-. Let us leave off this Business at present, says he; I shall foon recollect fome other Things to add to it; but in the mean time let us return to our Devotions; which we did, and as foon as Prayers were over; Thank God, fays he, I find my self grow better and better. Oh! If they would not make me suffer long Torments! I would willingly satisfy with my Blood for the Faults which I may have committed. Pray tell me; Is the King a Merciful Prince? Yes, reply'd I, the good God has favoured us with a very Gracious and Pious King. That is the principal Thing, fays he; Piety is the Fountain of all other Virtues; and, as the Prophet fays, is the beginning of Wisdom. And what think you of Count Piper, the first Minister, continued he; Is he a Nobleman fearing God? I affirmed that he was, and that his Excellency had already given a Thousand Proofs of his Probity. Well then, faid he, God be praised, they will then do nothing to me but what is Just. Happy is that Kingdom which is governed by Piety and Justice. After this he asked me several Questions concerning Sueden, of our Universities, of our Learned Men and Divines; particularly concerning

cerning Doctor Meyer, also of the Professor Frank, and Dr. Brechthault at Halle; asking me at the fame Time, what my Opinion was of the Pietists, and where I had made my Studies? And at last concluded, (venting Two or Three deep Sighs) Yes! Yes! I have some Friends here and there, who will lament me, and weep for my Death. What will the good old Electress say to it? And Mademoifelle Lewold, who is in her Service? And principally my poor betrothed Spouse? With what fad Affliction must she needs receive the News of my Death? My Dear Pasteur, (continued he, pressing my Hand,) may I defire a Kindness of you? Any Thing that is within the Compass of my Power for your Service, I will do with all my Heart, Sir, replied I. Be fo good then as to write a few Lines to my Dear Spouse, Madam Einsideln, when I shall be no more in this World; and tell her, (in presenting her with my last Compliments) that altho' the End of my Life was ignominious, in respect to my Bodily Punishment, yet it was very happy in respect to my Soul, as I verily hope and trust in my God. This will comfort her, at least in some small Measure; especially when she shall fee that this Confolation comes from the Person who affifted me in the last Moments of my Life: She will be henceforth free and at liberty to dispose of her felf; and I own my felf to have been infinitely obliged to her even to my Death——. After this he drew out his Purfe, and took out a Sum of Money which he put into three different Papers, and faying, To-Morrow, if it please God, I will think no more of Wordly Things, he presented me with one of those Papers, which contained a Hundred Ducats, defiring me to accept of it. And upon my making a Difficulty to take a Thing, which I had never deferved; My

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My dear Pafteur, fays he, I have often given a thousand Ducats for very small Services; but the Friendship you have shewn me, and the good you have done me, cannot be recompenced by all the Treasures in this World. Would to God I were in a Condition to shew you more effectually the Sense I have of the Kindness you have done me. But I have yet one Present which I make you, that I esteem above all other Riches, and that is my New Testament in Greek, with the Version of Arius Montanus, which has been my faithful Companion in all my Misery. Major Grootbuysen, who has it now in his Poffession, will give it you, when you ask it of him in my Name. I return'd him my Thanks, promiting to keep that Treafure very carefully. Afterwards he pray'd me to falute Monfieur de Grootbuysen in his Name, and to thank him a thousand Times for the great Civilities he had fhewn him during his last Calamity. After this he drew out of his Pocket another small Book: This Book, Mr. Le Pasteur, says he, is one that I have written with my own Hand; pray accept of it also, as a Remembrance of me, and a Proof of my Christianity; I should be very glad, this little Book, which in itself is of no great Value, were shown to the King; his Majesty would at least find by it, that I was no Atheift. I hope, reply'd I, that what you defire may be accomplish'd, for I will put it into my Colonel's Hands, who may find a proper Occasion to lay it before his Majesty. would be very well, faid he, and I wish that my Book may be more happy than its Author; I may fay to it what Ovid did in his Exile, to his Book de Tristibus, when he sent it to Augustus; Go thy ways, little Book, and procure that Favour which I have not been able to obtain for my felf: Pray

Pray read it, Monsieur Le Pasteur; which I prefently fet about doing; and I observed in my reading it that he had it all by Heart: Afterwards he made me read fome Prayers, and feveral devout Hymns of Death, and from thence he took occasion to discourse of the Vanity of this Alas! faid he, God is my Witness, that World. in the midst of worldly Pleasures my Heart has been always fad. And at this Time, tho' I know that I must die To-Morrow, I find my self much more content than I have formerly been at the most magnificent Entertainment. Munde, Munde, Vale! World, World, Farewel! Affure your felf. Mr. Le Pasteur, that very often, and principally in the later years of my Life, I have endeavour'd entirely to put off this World; but I found it impossible for me to execute this Design. Thanks to Jefus, who has at length torn in Pieces for me the Nets of Satan; my Chains are broken, and my Soul is at Liberty. The Hand of the great Charles has contributed much to my Enlargement. God be praised! 'Tis a great Truth what St. Paul fays in his viiith to the Romans; We know that all things work together for good to those who love God. And now it beginning to grow late, Monsieur Le Pasteur, fays he, I keep you here too long with me; I beg of you not to be tired of me. As foon as I had affured him of the contrary, we went again to Prayers; and when we had done, What Counfel, fays he, do you give me? Ought I to take a little Rest? 'Tis long since I have flept, and I find my felf very weary and weak; for besides that, I have not Eat nor Drank to-Day, except a little Water. And I could not do otherwife than approve of fuch a Refolution. Perhaps by doing fo, continued he, my Spirits may revive a little; for it will be very necessary, that I should be well disposed To-morrow Morning, because

cause then I hope to comfort my poor Soul by receiving the holy Communion. When we had pitched upon an Hour for this holy Defign, he went to Bed, and I retired to my Quarters. The 30th of September, at four a-Clock in the Morning, I return'd to him; and as foon as he heard me falute him, as I enter'd his Chamber, he rose out of Bed, and gave Thanks to God for having afforded him so good a Night; saying, That he had not of a long time rested so quietly. Presently we went to Prayers; and I must needs own, the Fervour of his Devotion was extraordinary. About fix a-Clock, he faid; We will in the Name of Fesus execute now our Holy Design, before the Noise which they are making without Doors increases; and as I approved of his Intention, he fell upon his Knees, and made his Confession in most devout Words, the beginning whereof was remarkable: What shall I say, O God, my Lord? How shall I speak, or presume to justify my self before thee? God has found out the Iniquity of his Servant. Pardon, Pardon it, O Lord God, &c. After having received the holy Sacrament, he heartily returned Thanks to God in feveral pious Hymns, which we recited together. At the Rifing of the Sun, he look'd out of the Window, and faid, Salve festa Dies; thou art my Wedding-Day. I once thought, that about this Seafon I should be celebrating another fort of Wedding-Day. But this is the more happy of the Two; for this Day my Soul shall be introduced into Heaven by its Spouse our Lord Jesus Christ. Then he asked me once again, Whether I did not know what fort of Death was appointed him to die. And when I had answered him in the fame manner as I had done the Day before, he begg'd of me not to abandon him at his Death, let it be as cruel as it can be. Only

Only, faid he, pronounce aloud to me always the Name of Jesus Christ; that will sweeten all my Pains, and all my Torments. Then looking once again out of the Window: Alas! fays he, Monsieur Le Pasteur, they are putting the Horses to the Chariot; God be praised for it: I only defire they should make haste, for my Life already feems too long to me. Prefently he cast his Eyes upon the Paper, where he had begun to write his Will: This Paper, fays he, will not be compleat. And when I asked him, Whether he would not be pleafed to fet his Name to it as it was: No, faid he, fighing, I will no more write this hateful Name of mine: My Cousins will find another sufficient Estate which I have left to them. Pray as foon as you fee them, remember me kindly to them. After this he continued in his Devotions till the Lieutenant of his Guard came to carry him away. Here Sir, faid I, is the Confirmation of those fad News I first brought you. Come then; let us be gone, faid he, taking his Cloak; I hope at least, Mr. Le Pasteur, you will accompany me. O, do not abandon me! And when I had promifed him that I would not, he went up into the Chariot, and obliged me to take the upper End. Thus we went on a very great Pace, guarded by a Hundred Horse; and during all the Way he embraced and kiss'd me; begging of me not to forget to pay his last Compliments for him to his dear Mistress his Spouse; and thanking me for my Company. Soon after, we arrived at the Place of Execution, which was furrounded by about Three Hundred Foot Soldiers. As foon as he had observed the Posts or Pales, and the Wheels which were erected there, he was extremely frightned at them: And embracing me very ftraitly, Gg

straitly, Alas! Monsieur Le Pasteur, said he, pray to God for me, that he may not fuffer me to fall into Despair. I comforted him in the best Manner I was able, desiring him continually to fix his Thoughts upon Christ crucified. After this they took him out of the Chariot, and whilft they were taking off his Chains, he prayed most ardently. As foon as he was come to the Spot, where he was to be executed, the Captain of the Regiment, who that Day officiated as Major, proclaimed with a loud Voice: "His Majetty, our most Graci-" ous King, has expresly commanded, most ri-" gorously, that this Man, who is a Traytor, " should be first Broke upon the Wheel, and " afterwards Quarter'd; as well for his just "Punishment, as to serve for an Example to " others, that every one may hereafter ferve his "King faithfully". At the Word Traytor, Patkul shrugg'd up his Shoulders, and look'd up to Heaven; and afterwards ask'd, Where will you have me to go? And as foon as the Executioner had shewn him the Place, Do your Office, Friend, fays he, and at the fame Time gave him a Paper full of Money; then laid himfelf flat; and whilft they were taking off his Cloaths, he cried out to me; Ob, pray to God, that it may please him to fortify me in this disenal Hour: Whereupon addressing my self to all the Spectators; Beloved Children, faid I, let us pray with Fervour and Attention for this poor Man. Alas! Yes, faid he, pray all for me; which we did unanimously, and with abundance of Devotion. And at that Time, the Hangman giving him the first Stroke, he cried out aloud, O Jesu! Jesu! have Pity upon me. After this he received more than Fourteen or Fifteen Strokes; and because the Hangman was but indifferently

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differently skill'd in his Cruel Trade, he was indeed most terribly tormented, and cried out most piteously, pronouncing without ceasing, the Holy Name of Jesus; Lord Jesus, I commit and resign my Soul into thy Hands, &c. After having received two Blows more upon the Breast, he lest off crying aloud, only speaking in a few low and interrupted Words, Cut off my Head, Cut off my Head: And as he found that the Hangman made no sufficient Haste to do it, he crept upon all Four himself, as far as to the Pale, and laid his own Neck over it; where, after Four Blows, he was at last Beheaded, and his Body was put on the Wheels, there to remain.

Such was the End of the famous Patkul; Lord Jesus, who art come into the World to save all Sinners, have Mercy upon his poor Soul.

X7 Hoever is acquainted with the Dexterity of the common Executioners in Germany, and in all those Northern Countries, (which indeed is very furprizing,) and knows that one found Blow on the Breast, called the Coup de Grace, presently dispatches a Criminal that is broke upon the Wheel, will eafily be convinced that the cruel Treatment poor Patkul met with, as well in the Breaking his Body, as afterwards in cutting off his Head, was inflicted by particular Order. The Officer who proclaimed his Sentence just before his Death, seems to own it, and to make a Sort of Excuse for it, as being the King's most rigorous Command. And indeed, an Executioner is fo detestable and infamous a Creature in Sueden, Denmark, and all those Northern Parts of the World, that it requires an extraordinary Dexterity in that hateful Trade, and an immediate imperceptible withdrawing,

to fave him from the unreasonable Rage of the Spectators upon those Occasions. And the Parfon who affifted at this Execution, and appears all along to have been a good Levite, does infinuate the fame Thing, as far as he dare; for you must consider him to have been a Native Suede, and Chaplain to one of the King's Regiments. But \_\_\_\_ fo let bim die, ( faid one of the most cruel of the Roman Tyrants) ut se fentiat mori: And if ever any Man felt himself die by Degrees, in the most exquisite Torments, it was poor Patkul. He was all along apprehenfive of this, as you may plainly fee by this Priest's Relation, knowing too well the Temper of the King of Sueden, not to dread a remarkable Instance of it in his own Case. And indeed, we find the miferable Man was not at all deceived in his Expectation.

How would an English Crowd of Spectators, (which now can hardly bear the Quartering of a dead Human Body) behave itself upon the Occasion of such an Execution as this? At first, indeed, it would alarm and terribly shock it. But after a little Time, I doubt, Cruelty, as well as Slavery, would grow so habitual, as to become indifferent, if not a Pastime, as it now is in those Countries where Bigotry reigns, and where the Inquisition frequently triumphs over the State, in a Solemn Act of Faith, (Auto da Fe) by which Name the Ecclesiasticks, who preside at those detestable Religious Murders, have sanctified the most horrid and causeless Cruelties that ever were invented by Mankind.

Tantum Religio potuit.

When will the World recover its Wits?
Thus died Patkul, univerfally lamented. He was, as to his Person, rather Tall than otherwise, somewhat inclining to be gross and fat; of a middle

dle Age at the Time of his Death; of a fair Complexion, but no very promising Countenance, which feemed heavy and dull. Those who converfed with him, foon found how much his outward Appearance had imposed upon their Judgment: For his Natural and Acquired Parts were extraordinary; especially, his Eloquence was so great, that it was almost impossible to resist the Force of his Arguments. He was Mafter of a healthful Body, and an indefatigable Diligence to employ it; of unbounded Generolity; better skill'd in Negotiations, than in Military Commands, as a General; yet in the main, acknowledged even by his Enemies, to have been one of the greatest Men this later Age has produced, and worthy of a much better Fate.

He is often mistaken, (occasion'd by the Likeness of the Names) for Peikul, another Livonian Nobleman, a Prisoner at Stockholm, and put to Death by the King of Sueden's Order, for Crimes much of the same Nature with Patkul's. Some Circumstances of his Death being pretty extraordinary, it will not be amiss to give a very short Account of them, as related by Persons of

undoubted Credit.

After King Charles had entirely got the better of King Augustus, and the latter was forced to comply with every Thing required of him; Augustus, in order to put the best Face he could upon a bad Matter, made great Entertainments for the King of Sueden, at a very fine Pleasure-House not far distant from Dresden: Peikul's poor Lady, and Children, had taken a great Journey from Sueden, on purpose to sollicit for her Husband's Pardon; and King Augustus, with his Courtiers, as well as several of the King of Sueden's Officers, had promised her to make use of the utmost of their Interest in her Behalf; and had contrived the

Matter

Matter fo, that after the usual Jollity, and good Humour, caused by a great Feast, she, with her Children, should unexpectedly come into the Dining-Room, and fall at the King of Sueden's Feet, imploring his Mercy for her Husband; to which King Augustus, with all the other Noble Guests, were to join their Intercession. So far Matters were well concerted; but the King of Sueden having by fome Means or other, got an inkling of this Defign, after he was come to the Place appointed for the Feast, and being resolved that nothing should prevent his Intention, defired Leave to retire for a few Minutes before Dinner, into a private Closet, where he called for Ink and Paper, and Wrote and Signed an Order, which he fent by Express, for Peikul's immediate Execution upon Sight of it. After this he came out to Dinner; which being ended, the poor Woman, and her Children, came in and flung her self at King Charles's Feet, as it had been forecasted, in the midst of the Mirth: King Augustus, with all the Company, mixing their Intercessions with her Tears: The King of Sueden, after some seeming Struggle, granted the Pardon which was defired, and Signed an Inftrument to that Purpose, which by Peikul's Friends was presently dispatched away. But the King's Courier arrived first at Stockbolm, and poor Peikul was Beheaded about Four Hours before the Second got thither.

'Tis necessary that the Reader should be informed, that Peikul had formerly had a Law-Suit with an Uncle of his for a considerable Estate; which went through all the usual Forms, and Courts in Livonia; and at last, according to the Laws of those Countries, was brought to the King for Decision; for to him is the last Appeal in all Civil Causes. The King gave Judgment against

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Peikul for this only Reason, because he was an Alien, and not his Natural-born Subject; taking the Advantage of Peikul's being dropt by his Mother, (by some Accident or other) in a Village within the Territories of Poland, about three Miles distant from the Borders of Livonia. This was thought a very hard Decision of the King's, it being notorious that Peikul's Family, and Estate, were always esteemed Livonian.

However; this Determination, unjust as it was, afterwards was brought as a good Argument for Peikul against the King, when His Majesty condemned him as a Natural born Subject of Sueden. But it seems, though his being born out of the King's Dominions, proved a good Reason for depriving him of his Estate, it proved inessectual

to the faving of his Life.

This is that King; a Bigot too: And a Bigot (in any Religion) who has Power, is a ravenous Beaft of Prey; how much more, meeting with

fuch a Disposition?

This is he, whom fome malicious Wretches, that call themselves Englishmen, are grown so fond of; whom they have chosen to be the Preferver of our Religion, Properties and Liberties. Not that they are ignorant, that as foon as he has them in his Power, he would destroy them all: For what Man in his Senses can expect he should use our Country better than his own? But because, like him, they are so full of Revenge, they would facrifice their own Well-being to their implacable Hatred of the Royal Family, and the prefent Government, I should not wonder, if some Ecclesiasticks and University-Monks, who are proud and cruel by Institution, and have professedly banish'd all Charity, gave into this, or any other damnable Project, whereby they might

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might hope to bring in their Pretender, and contributed Sums towards the Accomplishment of it.

These have made their bad Bargain, and foolishly depend upon its being kept. But that Laymen of Quality and Fortune, who have, or would be thought to have, fome Remains of Humanity in their Breafts, who know somewhat of the World, and Mankind; who have forgotten their University Education, and better their Lives and Principles, by converfing even with debauched Persons out of those Societies, who have not quite fold themselves to Priestcraft: That fuch as these, I say, should be capable of contriving the undoing themselves, and their Posterity, for the short Pleasure of Revenge? is most amazing. After-Ages will be astonished at their Choice; but will conclude, that fuch a King could be only fit for fuch a People. would to God they could have him entirely to themselves; and that honest Men, who are of a peaceable Disposition, were well rid of them all. I know feveral who would heartily contribute their Share of the Charges for transplanting them and their Effects to Sueden; where these Gentlemen might fully enjoy their invincible Hero, and in a short Time have the additional Bleffing of feeding upon Bread made of the Bark of Birch and Fir Trees, instead of that filly Top of a Weed, as the Eastern Tartars despisingly call our Wheat. But far be it from any fober Man's Thoughts, to encourage the Entrance of fuch a fierce Spirit here among us, in Comparison of whom, the very Pretender himself would prove mild and gentle.

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